NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

VOLUME VI.---NO. 2. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1845. WHOLE NUMBER 262.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At 142, Nassau Street, New-York.

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Maria Weston Chapman,
Edmund Quincy, } Editors.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.

Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer, at Boston; or to S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer, at New-York.

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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the New Orleans Picayune.

CRUELTY.

Passing through Baronne street about noon yesterday, a crowd, composed of men, women, and children, attracted our attention. The object of their curiosity—or rather their pity—we found to be a delicate, debilitated-looking mulatto boy, about ten years old. An old negro on one side and a stick on the other supported him, as he endeavored to move along, though it was evident that any motion, however slow, was too much for his prostrate physical powers.

We inquired what was the matter with the boy, and were answered by his shirt being raised up off his back, and heavens! how expressive of fiendish cruelty was the spectacle that presented itself! The poor boy's back and body were one mass of raw, trembling, skinless, parti-putrid, lacerated flesh! Ravines, as it were, in his carcase, had been cut by the lash, and he appeared, altogether, a victim of the most wanton and heartless cruelty which it was possible for other than a fiend to inflict. All we could learn of this monstrous cruelty we had from the old negro who helped the boy along; we give it for what it is worth, premising that we shall seek for the authentic facts of the case and lay them before the public.

The old negro said that he and the boy belonged to C. Donniburg, who lives at the corner of Annunciation and Richard streets; that Donniburg lost a watch, and charged the boy with stealing it. Some ten nor fourteen days since he had him put in the police jail of the First Municipality, and there, by his order, says the old man, was the inhuman punishment inflicted on him. The boy himself says that he received twenty-five lashes a day from the day he was imprisoned, till Thursday last. The old man, by direction of his master, was taking him home: but two citizens, seeing that he must die by the way, informed Recorder Baldwin of his condition, who promptly had him brought to the police office, where he was examined by Dr. Pieton.

As the doctor examined the wounds, they were necessarily exposed to the bystanders, who, by an involuntary exclamation, expressed their indignation against his torturer. The doctor pronounced the boy in a precarious condition, but said that by proper treatment he might recover, and advised that he should be sent to the Charity Hospital. The Recorder ordered that he be at once taken there, and thither was he carried by the police, on a litter—his back upward.

We have always urged that due chastisement of slaves, when they fail in their duty, and, indeed, the legal punishment of free people of color when they assume to be disrespectful to whites; but we would think ourselves less than man, did we not give emphatic expression to our reprobation of such an act of unmitigated cruelty as this is.

Pro-Slavery.

From the New-York Express.

THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

These madmen are still in session in their "Convention," as they call the farce of bringing together Stephen Foster, Lenox Remond Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley, Wendell Phillips, Frederic Douglas, Betsey Hitchcock, and a few other miserable fanatics, to rave against the Union, the Constitution, and the clergy of the country. They are holding their meetings at the Marlboro' Chapel in Boston, and there enact scenes that should condemn them to a lunatic hospital, if not to a penitentiary.

One evening, during their session, there was quite a flare-up, caused by the entrance of Elizur Wright of the "Liberty party," so-called, who entered into a contest with the Garrison Abolitionists, and remarked, among other severe things, that such anti-slavery men like Garrison, Foster, and others, had done more for Slavery than all the churches which they had denounced with so much severity. Garrison, Phillips, Buffum, and others, took up the cudgels, and a very pretty fight ensued.

On another occasion, Stephen Foster, the maddest of them all, spoke in defence of a pledge which it seems had been submitted to the Convention, against voting for any candidates for office under this Government—opposed as it was to the principles of Christianity and to civil liberty. There was not a Government, Foster said, so cruel, so tyrannical, so hostile to human liberty, as ours. He read from the New Orleans Picayune an account of a recent case of most shocking cruelty to a mulatto boy; and said that there was not a voter in the land who had not sanctioned that act, who had not authorized the whipping of that slave boy even to death. He concluded by expressing an earnest hope that every man, *woman* and *child* would sign this pledge not to *vote* any more for public officers under this despotic and abominable Government. At another time, Gov. Pinney, of the Colonization Society, came into the hall, and answered these wholesale denunciations of the Church and the ministry. He was responded to by Phillips, Walter Channing, and Garrison. His speech was made up of a personal attack upon Mr. Pinney. He knew him well, he said; he knew him root and branch. He was the representative of the detested, malevolent, infernal scheme of African Colonization—a project of iniquity—the very spawn of hell. Garrison protested that he did not wish to be personal; and to illustrate this, he said Mr. Pinney was fit only to be a slave himself—that he was a genuine devil—and that to hear such a man talk of the love of God and quote the Bible, was infinite worse than profane swearing.

These men want strait-waistcoating, decidedly.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY.—This is composed of the "Liberty party" Abolitionists, who do not at all harmonize with the Garrison men. This Society owes $2,000. Elizur Wright is its Secretary. They have sat in Convention, at Boston, and have adjourned.

The Church.

THE METHODIST CHURCH.

By the following Report of the proceedings of the Convention at Louisville, it will be seen that the organization of the Southern Church is completed. Of course everything is done with great unanimity.

From the Louisville Journal.

THE METHODIST CONVENTION.

SATURDAY, May 17.

On motion of J. Early, the report of the Committee on Organization was called up, and the first resolution was read, which is as follows:

Be it enacted by the delegates of the several annual conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the slaveholding States, in General Convention assembled, That it is right, expedient, and necessary to erect the Annual Conferences, represented in this Convention, into a distinct ecclesiastical connection, separate from the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as at present constituted; and accordingly, we, the delegates of said Annual Conferences, acting under the provisional plan of separation adopted by the General Conference of 1844, do solemnly declare the jurisdiction hitherto exercised over said Annual Conferences, by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *entirely dissolved*; and that said Annual Conferences shall be, and they hereby *are constituted* a separate ecclesiastical connection, under the provisional plan of separation aforesaid, and based upon the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, comprehending the doctrines, and the entire moral, ecclesiastical, and economical rules and regulations of said discipline, except only in so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization, and to be known by the style and title of the *Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.

Mr. Early then moved its adoption.

Mr. Lee moved that the ayes and noes be taken, which was concurred in, and the vote stood—Ayes 96; Noes 3.

The second resolution, which is as follows, was read, and on motion of Mr. Crowder was adopted:—

Resolved, That while we cannot abandon or compromise the principles of action, upon which we proceed to separate organization in the South, nevertheless, cherishing a sincere desire to maintain Christian union and fraternal intercourse with the Church, North, we shall always be ready, kindly and respectfully, to entertain, and duly and carefully consider any proposition or plan, having for its object the union of the two great bodies in the North and South, whether such proposed union be *jurisdictional* or *connectional*.

Ayes 97, noes none.

Mr. Early presented a further report from the committee on organization, which is as follows:—

Resolved, That this Convention request the Bishops, presiding at the ensuing sessions of the border Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *South*, to incorporate into the aforesaid Conferences any societies or stations adjoining the line of division, provided such societies or stations, by a majority of the members according to the provisions of the plan of separation as adopted by the late General Conference, request such an arrangement.

Resolved, That answer second of third section, chapter first, of the book of discipline, be so altered and amended as to read as follows:—

The General Conference shall meet on the first day of May, in the Year of our Lord 1846, in the town of Petersburg, Virginia, and thenceforward in the month of April or May, once in four years, successively, and in such place and on such day as shall be fixed on by the preceding General Conference, &c.

Resolved further, That the first answer in the same chapter be altered by striking out the word *twenty-one*, and inserting in its place the word *fourteen*.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN EARLY, Chairman.

The report and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Methodist Convention, by a close vote, have determined to locate the operations of their principal Missionary Society in this city. The Convention has not located the book concern of the Southern Methodists at all, as was stated by some of our city papers, but have left it to the first meeting of the Conference, which is to be held at Petersburg, Va.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The General Assembly of the (old school) Presbyterian Church, at their recent session, in Cincinnati, have adopted a Report which justifies us, if we never were before, in branding that church as a "synagogue of Satan." No other church in the country, at the present time, and in the blaze of light which has been shed upon the subject, would have the hardihood to take and maintain so atrocious and wicked a position. Read the report and resolutions:

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The Committee to whom was referred the memorials on the subject of Slavery, beg leave to submit the following report:

The memorials may be divided into three classes, viz:

1. Those which represent the system of Slavery as it exists in these United States, as a great evil, and pray this General Assembly to adopt measures for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves.

2. Those which ask the Assembly to receive memorials on the subject of Slavery, to allow a full discussion of it, and to enjoin upon the members of our church, residing in the States whose laws forbid the slaves being taught to read, to seek by all lawful means the repeal of those laws.

3. Those which represent Slavery as a moral evil, a heinous sin in the sight of God, calculated to bring upon the Church the curse of God, and calling for the exercise of discipline in the case of those who persist in maintaining or justifying the relation of master to slaves.

The question which is now unhappily agitating and dividing other branches of the Church, and which is pressed upon the attention of the Assembly by the three classes of the memorialists just named, is, whether the holding of slaves is, under all circumstances, a heinous sin, calling for the discipline of the Church.

The Church of Christ is a spiritual body, whose jurisdiction extends only to the religious faith and moral conduct of her members. She cannot legislate where Christ has not legislated, nor make terms of membership which he has not made. The question, therefore, which this Assembly is called upon to decide, is this: Do the Scriptures teach that the holding of slaves, without regard to circumstances, is a sin, the renunciation of which should be made a condition of membership in the Church of Christ.

It is impossible to answer this question in the affirmative, without contradicting some of the plainest declarations of the Word of God. That slavery existed in the days of Christ and his apostles, is an admitted fact. That they did not denounce the relation itself as sinful, as inconsistent with Christianity; that slaveholders were admitted to membership in churches organized by the apostles; that whilst they were required to treat their slaves with kindness, and as rational, accountable, immortal beings, and if Christians, as brethren in the Lord, they were not commanded to emancipate them; that slaves were required to be "obedient to their masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, with singleness of heart as unto Christ," are facts which meet the eye of every reader of the New Testament. This Assembly cannot, therefore, denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin, calculated to bring upon the Church the curse of God, without charging the apostles of Christ with conniving at such sin, introducing into the Church such sinners, and thus bringing upon them the curse of the Almighty.

In so saying, however, the Assembly are not to be understood as denying that there is evil connected with Slavery. Much less do they approve those defective and oppressive laws by which, in some of the States, it is regulated. Nor would they by any means countenance the traffic of slaves for the sake of gain, the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children, for the sake of "filthy lucre," or for the convenience of the master; or cruel treatment of slaves in any respect. Every Christian and philanthropist certainly could seek, by all peaceable and lawful means, the repeal of unjust and oppressive laws, and the amendment of such as are defective, so as to protect the slaves from cruel treatment by wicked men, and secure to them the right to receive religious instruction.

Nor is this Assembly to be understood as countenancing the idea that masters may regard their servants as *mere property*, not as human beings, rational, accountable, immortal. The Scriptures prescribe not only the duties of servants, but of masters also, warning the latter to discharge those duties, "knowing that their Master is in Heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him."

The Assembly intend simply to say, that since Christ and his inspired apostles did not make the holding of slaves a bar to communion, we, as a court of Christ, have no authority to do so; since they did not attempt to remove it from the Church by legislation, we have no authority to legislate on the subject. We feel constrained further to say, that however desirable it may be to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in the Southern and Western States, or to remove slavery from our country, these objects, we are fully persuaded, can never be secured by ecclesiastical legislation. Much less can they be attained by those indiscriminate denunciations against slaveholders, without regard to their character and circumstances, which have, to so great an extent, characterized the movements of modern Abolitionists, which, so far from removing the evils complained of, tend only to perpetuate and aggravate them.

The apostles of Christ sought to ameliorate the condition of slaves, not by denouncing and excommunicating the masters, but by teaching both masters and slaves the glorious doctrines of the Gospel, and enjoining upon such the discharge of their relative duties. Thus only can the Church of Christ, as such, improve the condition of the slaves in our country.

As to the extent of the evils involved in Slavery, and the best methods of removing them, various opinions prevail, and neither the Scriptures nor our Constitution authorize this body to present any particular course to be pursued by the churches under our care. The Assembly cannot but rejoice, however, to learn, that the ministers and churches in the slaveholding States are awakened to a deeper sense of their obligation to extend to the slave population generally, the means of grace, and many slaveholders, not professedly religious, favor this object. We earnestly exhort them to abound more and more in this good work. We would exhort every believing master to remember that his Master is also in Heaven, and in view of all the circumstances in which he is placed, to act in the spirit of the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even the same to them."

In view of the above stated principles and facts,

Resolved, First, That the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States was originally organized, and has since continued the bond of union in the church upon the conceded principle that the existence of domestic slavery under the circumstances in which it is found in the Southern portion of the country is no bar to Christian communion.

Second, That the petitions that ask the Assembly to make the holding of slaves in itself a matter of discipline, do virtually require this judicatory to dissolve itself and abandon the organization under which, by the Divine blessing, it has so long prospered. The tendency is evidently to separate the Northern from the Southern portion of the church; a result which every good citizen must deplore as tending to a dissolution of the Union of our beloved country, and which every enlightened Christian will oppose as bringing about a ruinous and unnecessary schism between brethren who maintain a common faith.

A division of the report was called for, which was accordingly taken, and the vote was first taken on the resolutions.

Mr. McMaster moved to amend the first resolution by inserting the word "sometimes," so as to read, "under the circumstances in which it is sometimes found," &c. The amendment was lost, and the resolution was passed almost unanimously.

The second resolution was also passed by almost unanimous vote.

Mr. McMaster also moved to amend the preamble, which was lost, and the preamble adopted.

The whole was then adopted. Ayes 164—Nays 12. Non liquet 3, excused 1.

Adjourned until to-morrow morning, 9 o'clock—concluded with prayer.

THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION,

To their Brethren in the United States—To the Congregations connected with the respective Churches—and to all candid men.

A painful division has taken place in the Missionary operations of the American Baptists. We would explain the origin, the principles, and the objects of that division, or the peculiar circumstances in which the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention became necessary.

Let not the extent of this disunion be exaggerated. At the present time it involves only the Foreign and Domestic Missions of the denomination. Northern and Southern Baptists are still brethren. They differ in no article of the faith. They are guided by the same principles of gospel order. Fanatical attempts have indeed been made, in some quarters, to exclude us of the South from Christian fellowship. We do not retort these attempts, and believe their extent to be comparatively limited. Our Christian fellowship is not, as we feel, a matter to be obtruded on any one. We abide by that of our God, his dear Son, and all his baptized followers. The few ultra Northern brethren to whom we allude must take what course they please. Their conduct has not influenced us in this movement. We do not regard the rupture as extending to foundation principles, nor can we think that the great body of our Northern brethren will so regard it. Disunion has proceeded, however, deplorably far. The first part of our duty is to show that its entire origin is with others. This is its history.

The following portion of this address is in a condensed form.

First—The Baptist General Convention was composed of brethren from every part of the States. Its Constitution and its practice for the last thirty years know nothing of the distinction between slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Both classes have been on an equality, and met in church communion without discord.

A special rule of the Constitution defines who may be missionaries, viz:—"Such persons only as are in full communion with some church in our denomination, and who furnish satisfactory evidence of general piety, good talents, and fervent zeal for the Redeemer's cause." Nothing in this disqualifies slaveholders; moreover, the superintendent of the education of native missionaries has been, with universal approbation, a slaveholder.

But an evil hour has arrived, the enemy has sown discord among us. In the last two triennial conventions it was warded off by this resolution.

"Resolved, That in co-operating together as members of this Convention in the work of Foreign Missions, we disclaim all sanction, either expressed or implied, whether of Slavery or Anti-Slavery; but as individuals, we are free to express and to promote, elsewhere, our views on these subjects, in a Christian manner and spirit."

In December last, the acting board of the Convention at Boston adopted a new qualifying special rule, viz: "If any one who should offer himself for a missionary, having slaves, should insist on retaining them as his property, they could not appoint him."

The date of this novel rule was one when the compromise resolutions could scarcely have reached our remoter mission stations. This is an usurpation, and one intended to effect our subjugation to it. It stopped the flow of Southern benevolence; three States refused to send forward contributions, and then came war within our gates.

By this decision, the Board has placed itself in direct opposition to the Constitution, under the plea that the appointing power was confided to the Board. It had also sanctioned Anti-Slavery opinions, and by implication condemned it—the Convention having said neither should be done. These brethren have acted on a sentiment they have failed to prove—that Slavery is in all circumstances sinful, while their solemn resolution at the last Convention left us free to promote Slavery.

Our Northern brethren have, in the language of the Apostles, "forbidden us to speak unto the Gentiles;" although they were dwelt with as brethren to the last moment. Several hopes were entertained that the Board might be brought to feel the grievous wrong they had inflicted, and were therefore asked to revise and remove the obnoxious interdict, which was answered with contemptuous silence.

Second—The principles of the Southern Baptist Convention are conservative, proposing to do the Lord's work in the way our fathers did it. The Constitution we adopt is that of the original Union. They have receded—not we. We have receded neither from the Constitution nor from any of the original ground-work on which we met them; and if that ground of confederation were not equitable, how came it so long to be acted upon? If equitable, why depart from it?

We have acted liberally towards our Northern brethren. By usurped authority they have thrust us from the platform of equal rights; but we will not practically leave it on any account. We must not be a party to any arrangement that would drive us from our beloved colored people, and the much wronged aborigines.

Thirdly—Our objects are the extension of the Messiah's Kingdom and the glory of God, in the promotion of which we find no necessity for the relinquishment of any of our civil rights. We will not interfere with what is Cæsar's, nor compromit what is God's. We sympathize with the low moan for spiritual aid of the four millions of half stifled red men, our neighbors, and with the sons of Ethiopia among us, stretching out their hands for the Gospel. And we have shaken ourselves from the nightmare of a six years "strife about words to no profit," for the profit of these poor, perishing souls. We have had more talk than work about these objects too long—now we shorten debate to get to business. With zeal, in which we are willing to be counselled by God, our eyes and hearts are turned to Burmah and the Karens—to the continent of Africa—to China, and her thirsty millions. In the South we have property which we will offer to the Lord and his cause.

In parting with beloved brethren and old coadjutors in this cause, we could weep, and have wept for ourselves and for them; but the season, as well of weeping as well as of vain jangling, is, we are constrained to believe, just now past. For years the pressure of men's hands has been upon us far too heavily. Our brethren have pressed upon every inch of our privileges and our sacred rights—but this shall only urge our gushing souls to yield proportionately of their renewed efforts to the Lord, to the Church universal, and to a dying world; even as water pressed from without rises but the more within. Above all the mountain pressure of our obligations to God, even our own God; to Christ and to Him crucified; and to the personal and social blessings of the Holy Spirit, and his influences, shall urge our little streams of the water of life to flow forth, until every wilderness and desolate place within our reach, (and what extent of the world's wilderness, wisely considered, is not within our reach?) "shall be glad"—even at this passing calamity of division; "and the deserts of unconverted human nature rejoice and blossom as the rose."

By order of the Convention,

WILLIAM B. JOHNSON, D. D.

AUGUSTA, (Ga.) 12th May, 1845.

From the Christian World.

MEETING OF THE CLERGY TO DISCUSS AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The meeting of clergy, called to consider their duties in relation to American Slavery, met at Ritchie Hall, on Monday afternoon. The call not being limited to Unitarian ministers, we observed with pleasure that many were present from other denominations, especially of the Orthodox and Universalists. Dr. Thompson, of Barre, was chosen Moderator, Mr. Parkman, of Dover, Secretary. Dr. Willard, of Deerfield, whose deep interest in the subject had brought him to the place, notwithstanding his age and blindness, addressed God in supplication for His light on the proceedings of the meeting.

Those who had called the meeting being asked to explain its objects, Mr. Stetson, of Medford, in a long and animated speech, opened the subject, by showing that the question of Slavery was becoming more and more national and important, and that we are all compromised by it, and that, therefore, it was especially proper for clergymen to consider its nature, and their own duties in relation. He closed by urging that we should discuss the subject calmly and without heat or violence.

Mr. Brimblecom, of Barre, moved that a committee of three be appointed to draft resolutions.

Mr. Hedge, of Bangor, thought it best not to have anything done in so formal a manner. He came expecting to have some familiar conversation with clergymen about their duties, and had no expectation of finding a public meeting.

Mr. Brimblecom thought that nothing would be done, except we had resolutions before us.

Jason Whitman understood, like Mr. Hedge, that the call was for clergymen to meet and discuss their duties, and that the meeting was to be confined to them, and that they were to talk to each other, not to the world. We don't want to pass resolutions or make speeches.

A. P. Peabody very distinctly understood that it was to be a clerical convention.

Mr. Brimblecom withdraws his motion.

There being present a great number of laity, and many ladies, the question was discussed for some time, whether the meeting should be confined to the clergy.

Mr. Barry, of Framingham, thinks that the meeting cannot attain its object as now constituted.

Mr. Russel, of Hingham, is speaking, when Mr. Hedge asks him to give way that he may move that we now adjourn to meet again here, in half an hour, as a clerical convention.

G. W. Briggs did not understand that the meeting was to be confined to the clergy. Thinks it of no great consequence.

Theodore Parker said he was not going to make a speech but to tell a story. Once among the Jews it happened that the principles of the Gentiles were found to be spreading rapidly, and a meeting was called of the Rabbins in the gate of the city, to consider what should be done. When they met, it was found that not only the Rabbins had come, but also some young men and maidens. Then Rabbi Judah Ben Kadesh said that it would never do to discuss this subject before the young men and maidens, and many thought so too. But at last, a venerable Rabbi, with white hair and undivided beard, arose, and said that he thanked God that the young men and maidens took such an interest in the matter, and thought we had better go on just as we were.

This story made a laugh, and after some talk from Samuel May, Mr. Nightingale, A. P. Peabody, Jason Whitman, and others, it was agreed that the meeting should proceed.

Dr. Thompson hoped we should not waste much more time on points of order, but proceed with the question.

Mr. Hedge, of Bangor, said that the charges against the Church and clergy of being the bulwarks of Slavery, were false. They were more Anti-Slavery than any other class in the community. He said that he believed that, with many prominent in the Anti-Slavery cause, this was not the primary object, but they wished to make themselves prominent by abusing the Church and the Constitution of the United States. Every reform has three stages. First come those who are the voice crying in the wilderness. These are always pure and purifying. They simply say, repent, reform,—they do not stop to organize, they care only to speak the truth, and they are loved of God and of man. Then, in the second stage, the reformer leaves the wilderness and attempts to organize. Organization is often necessary, to be sure, but always dangerous. Reform then parts with much of its purity. The reformer must now battle not only for his cause but also for his party. The third stage separates the reformers into two classes. First, the ultra-radicals, who denounce all who vote in the State or act in the Church. This party is, of course, suicidal, and must come to nothing. They are non-resistant Ishmaelites, who use an olive branch for a war-club. The other party aim at civil power, by which to attain their end—but how many love to ride into power themselves, and sacrifice the end to the means. This last is the present crisis. As clergymen, we are to mingle with neither of these parties. We cannot do so and remain clergymen. We must hold our own course, and keep our own counsel. All organizations are transient. Humanity is greater than all organizations, all men, all ages. It feeds itself with streams from every quarter, and becomes purer and deeper, the farther it flows. Whence it comes, we know not. Whither it is flowing we cannot tell. But this we know, that it is guided through all its course by a spirit mightier than itself, and must pour its full tide onward to the highest issues.

Mr. Russell, of Hingham, professed to have great faith in the Church, and contended that the Anti-Slavery Society did not condemn the Church. He made a long, energetic, fervent anti-slavery speech—often quite eloquent; but of which the present reporter remembers nothing, but that at the close he urged on reformers the duty of making sacrifices and being willing to live on locusts and wild honey.

Mr. Briggs, of Plymouth, alluded slightly to some personal experiences. He believed himself anti-slavery from head to foot, yet it happened to him to be severely denounced by the Anti-Slavery party. If any man had a right to complain, he had. But he made no complaint. He thought we ought not to care what was said by Anti-Slavery people against us; only take care it was not *true*. We should aim at the simple subject, and let all such matters as these alone.

The North have a great deal to do with this matter, because the North might have prevented the three great steps which Slavery has taken; first, the compromise when the Constitution was adopted; second, the Missouri compromise; and third, the Annexation of Texas. Why did not the North prevent them? Because it was not Anti-Slavery. Therefore, Northern clergymen had much to do to enlighten the Northern mind concerning Slavery.

Mr. Stetson said, that the Northern young men went South, and became slaveholders; and this was because they were not sufficiently instructed in the principles of freedom. Northern men at the South are the most strenuous upholders and defenders of the system; witness, for instance, Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, a Northern man. The Southern professors and ministers who defend Slavery from the Bible, must have come from the North, for no tropical man would have the learning, if he had the audacity, to undertake such an argument.

Mr. Pierpont referred to the fact that Rev. Theodore Clapp, of New Orleans, a graduate of Andover Theological Seminary, had published a sermon, in which, he said, that in giving slaves to Abraham, God became a dealer in slaves, and, of course, the Slave-Trade was a Godlike business. Referring to what had been said of John the Baptist, he said that John the Baptist did not satisfy himself with merely saying, repent, in general, but he went to King Herod, and looked the King in the face, and said, It is not lawful for *thee* to have thy brother's wife. To be sure, he lost his head; but what of that?—he saved his soul. No doubt, people said, John is a very imprudent man, a very rash reformer. Did he not know that Herod would be offended? *He will lose his parish.* It is not enough to preach against sin in the abstract. I can go south of Mason and Dixon's line, and preach as much as I choose about the exceeding sinfulness of sin, or about the beauty of holiness. And I'll engage to be a pretty popular preacher there, too. But I can't preach against Slavery there. I can't at the North. I cannot here in Boston. I cannot in our Unitarian pulpits. (A voice, Try it.) *Try it!* I *will* try it when I get into another pulpit. It is in the power of the clergy of New England to overturn the system of Slavery from its foundation.

Some further conversation followed between Mr. Hedge and Mr. Pierpont, the former denying that Slavery had its foot on the neck of Christianity, which the latter asserted. Mr. Pierpont instanced the treatment of Mr. Simmons, at Mobile, Mr. Motte, in Savannah, and Mr. Samuel J. May, in his (Mr. Pierpont's) own pulpit, in Boston, to show that the clergy were not allowed freedom on this subject.

After some further conversation, the meeting was adjourned to half-past seven o'clock, in the evening, at which time it convened again, Mr. Allen, of Northboro', in the chair, and had an animated discussion, in which Mr. Briggs, A. P. Peabody, Mr. Fosdick, E. H. Chapin, Mr. Pettibone, of Fitchburg, George Bradburn, and Mr. Hall, of Providence, took part. On motion of Mr. Briggs, James F. Clarke, Caleb Stetson, and Mr. Thompson, of Salem, were appointed a Committee to prepare resolutions, which were presented to the meeting, but no action taken upon them, when the meeting adjourned to Wednesday evening.

Selections.

From the Boston Daily Times.

ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Society met yesterday morning at 10 o'clock, Charles Lenox Remond (colored) being in the Chair.

The Rev. Dr. Pinney, Secretary of the Colonization Society, having brought several charges against the Society, the discussion was commenced by Dr. Granden, of Ohio, and the Scotchman, Mr. Clure, hauling him over the coals. Clure said he was a false prophet, one of those cowardly hypocrites who could throw up the whites of their eyes, talk about the Gospel, and yet advocate American Slavery. He was false to the principles of the American Declaration of Independence, and those who maintained it. He was a greater stickler for purity of language, and yet he had used language on the evening before, that would have shamed the "Seven Dials" of London, and the "Five Points" of New-York. He was a defender of Slavery, was he? Next to this ex-Governor, we should have the slaveholders themselves among us, teaching us the way to salvation.

Out upon such hypocrites and dough-faces. As to the gentleman's argument that our cause could not be true, because we were divided among ourselves, how was it, said he, with our dear Christian Church?—Take the sects and parties from His Holiness, the Pope, down to Joe Smith, and there was a glorious lot of them. (Laughter.) There were six hundred sects and parties in the world, all professing that their religious belief was the only true one, and that all the rest were going *pell mell* and right straight to the devil. (Renewed Laughter.)

Mr. Foster introduced a resolution or pledge not to vote for any candidate for office under our Government where it was pre-supposed that an oath to support our National and State Government must have been taken. This was to be signed by only legal voters.

Mr. Pillsbury, of Concord, N. H. followed, and took up the speech of Mr. Pinney, and said the Christian Church had never been described in more odious colors by Garrison, Foster, and others, than it was by him on the last evening.

The venerable *Robert Owen*, of England, next took the platform and said, from an early period he was opposed to negro slavery, and also to slavery of all kinds. At home he had seen, by far, worse Slavery, than any he had witnessed among the colored population—all should look at the *great causes* of Slavery. They could be traced to the spirit of inequality in and under all Governments—all we wanted was the establishment of equal rights over all lands and countries. It had been his mission for a long series of years to labor for the perfect equality of man—but this glorious result was far from being consummated. The black man proclaimed liberty for his color—but he stood there to contend for liberty to the white man, who was bound to the most arrant slavery of all. They were slaves, mentally and physically, to an unequal system of Government, both here and in England, which crushed the laborer and the poor man everywhere down to the dust. He said he had been absent from this country fifteen years, and he had expected to find a more liberal state of things than he now witnessed, but he had faith that the great doctrines of charity, liberty, and equality, would eventually succeed. He had been engaged in the charge of education of thousands of children for some forty years, and he would say that human nature, as developed in them, was not intrinsically bad and prone to evil, *but good*. He went for the proper exercise of the laws of nature and humanity, which, if only put in exercise, would tend to render all human laws and institutions nugatory, and of no practical interest. In closing, Mr. Owen said he was aged 74, and had tried to spend a long life for the good of humanity. In view of all his experience, he was obliged to say, that the whole of the civilized world was only one great *Lunatic Asylum*, cut up by sects and parties, all opposed to all, and all in competition with all. Consequently there was no adequate progress and improvement. He gave notice that a great *World's Convention* would be holden, in view of all these subjects, in New-York about the first of October.

A Mr. Earle then addressed the Convention on the resolutions of Mr. Foster, in relation to oaths under the Government.

In the afternoon, among other matters, a very spirited discussion arose between Charles Lenox Remond, Frederic Douglas, among others, on the one side, and George Bradburn on the other, on the question of raising funds for the objects of the Society. Bradburn, being of the Liberty party, came in and assailed the *old organization* as violent and abusive; Douglas rose and entered the lists against him, and we will give him the credit of saving that he proved himself fully a match for friend George. He poured on him a torrent of declamation and invective, which made even Bradburn wince. Said Douglas, never was a more abusive and scurrilous party than the Liberty party, and *never was there a more fit representative of its abuse and scurrility than George Bradburn.* (Great applause.) Douglas was interrupted by Bradburn, but he sustained himself with increased power. After a while, great confusion arose, mingled with considerable laughter, and Bradburd and others tried to get the floor. After awhile, Bradburn succeeded in getting the floor, and endeavored to defend himself, but not with his usual success.

A collection was then taken up, and a large sum raised while Foster was speaking. Among other large sums, Wendell Phillips gave $100, Francis Jackson $100. Several $20, and some fifty or sixty $5 a piece. Several hundred dollars were collected in all.

One Mellen, of Boston, gave a donation of twenty-five books, which he valued at $25, written by him to sustain the Liberty party, and to expound the Constitution. Much fun ensued on this, and one cried out, "*You can't get rid of them any other way.*" (Laughter.)

After a variety of amusing entertainments, the Convention broke up, for the afternoon.

From the Boston Courier.

THE ANNIVERSARIES.

The New England Anti-Slavery Society, at the Marlboro' Chapel, with its eloquent and caustic speakers, its array of women—some of them very pretty—the latitude of its debates and the fiery arguments with which they are seasoned, continues to be one of the principal attractions of anniversary week. Occasionally, indeed, a speaker arises, with a total misapprehension of his talent for oratory, and attempts to inflict upon the assembly a tedious and uninteresting harangue, delivered in low, monotonous voice, and insipid style. Compared with the efforts of Phillips, Garrison, and others of the speakers who crowd the platform, it is as the muttering of bilge water to the roar of the ocean. The restless democracy of the convention, rebel against this unprofitable invasion of their time and patience, and with scraping, coughing, and mock applause, break and entangle the thread of a discourse, which would not appear wonderfully luminous if entirely uninterrupted. But the indomitable perseverance—we were going to say obstinacy—of the Anti-Slavery lecturer, heeds as little the admonition of friends as the hissing and hooting of foes. The speaker knows what is good for his audience, if they do not know what is good for themselves, and he generally manages to administer the whole dose.

The denunciation of the Church and clergy of the Union is the principal feature of the anti-slavery argument. Slavery is attacked in every form—the language contains no term of reproach and detestation which is not exhausted upon the slaveholder, but it is upon the Church and the clergy, most particularly, that the abolition orator rains the fire and brimstone of his zeal and fury. The Church is pro-slavery, and Slavery is of the devil—the Church is pro-slavery and Slavery is antichrist—the Church is pro-slavery, and Slavery, robs, murders, commits fornication and adultery, keeps its victims ignorant of the Bible and of God, tears children from parents, and husbands from wives, and to all this iniquity the Church is accessory, for it is pro-slavery. Time, and the constant use of all these epithets of denunciation, have abated nothing or their rancor. Year after year the Anti-Slavery orator and lecturer pours forth his hatred and vituperation of the Church and the clergy, and the same audience which expressed its approbation when the doctrine was first preached, applauds it now. Upon the fruitful theme of Slavery, and with speakers marked by the strong talent and ready eloquence which distinguish most of the Anti-Slavery orators, black as well as white, the subject is always interesting, a large audience can be easily collected, and some are fascinated and some are converted. Occasionally a clergyman enters the arena to defend himself and his cloth from the censure which is cast upon each,—for the platform is open to all—but in most instances, he comes off second best in the encounter. The zeal of the Anti-Slavery cause devours not only itself, but everything else which comes within its reach.

We say that these meetings are interesting and well attended. What good they do, is a question we are not so well able to solve. If we understand their orators, they are friendly to religion—they denounce only the Church and the clergy. They are ultra peace men, though they preach up what sounds very much like war, without stint or mercy, against the slaveholder. The progress of human rights is a most prolific subject of discourse among them, and yet the free American is told that he lives under a worse and more despotic form of Government than does the serf of Russia. They are the only true disciples of liberty, and the only true followers of religion, and yet their fiercest quarrels are among themselves. Hardly a year passes without the occurrence of some bitter feud in the midst of their ranks. They have reduced grumbling to a science, and fault-finding and denunciation to a perfect system. *Have they ever done anything else?*

An exciting element was stirred in the Convention on Wednesday evening. Rev. Mr Pinney, a Presbyterian clergyman, and ex-Governor of Liberia, arose and entered into a scriptural argument for the justification of slave bondage, or in the words of Mr. Pillsbury, in his reply, "held the leaves of the Bible over the yawning hell of Slavery." We were not present during the evening, but understand that the hall was crowded to discomfort, many of the spectators siding with the clergyman, and greeting his remarks with applause. He must have been a bold man, however, who, in that presence and before such champions, should dare to say aught in favor of Slavery, though backed by the Bible and half the audience. The men who have handled this scripture argument for years, and mastered all its parts, could not but be delighted to have it cast into their Convention, with the additional seasoning which it might acquire from being presented by a Presbyterian clergyman, and a Colonizationist to boot. The replies of Messrs. Phillips and Garrison are said to have demolished everything which the gentleman presented, either of fact or argument, and if anything was left, it was annihilated by the humorous though discursive remarks of Mr. Clure, a Scotchman, and the scorching speech of Mr. Pillsbury yesterday forenoon.

Mr. Robert Owen of Scotland, addressed the convention yesterday, mainly upon his peculiar monomania of apportioning the good things of this world among all its inhabitants. His remarks were listened to with attention, but though he flattered the Anti-Slavery movement, still he said he had seen more white than black Slavery, and he evidently considered his philanthropy the better of two.

From the Boston Courier.

We do not lay before our readers the following communication because we think the positions of the writer are all just and well-founded; nor do we withhold comment on his inferences and conclusions because we suppose them to be sound and legiti-

mate; but we publish the article mainly to gratify a gentleman whom we are always willing to accomodate, and we refrain from comment, because we think there are few readers that will need a guide to point out wherin the writer is unjust in the indiscriminate severity of his language, and inaccurate in some of his asserted facts.

To the Editor of the Courier:

SIR:—That the prevalence of humbug and cant "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," is, I aver, a sober truth sufficiently apparent to the most careless observer, to be doubted. And further, when these arts are exercised upon subjects of great importance, for the purpose of misleading the general mind, or for *any* purpose, all will admit the duty of exposing them. These premises I shall take for granted, and apply them to the press, but more particularly in this instance to the political or partisan press of the North, both Whig and Democratic. True, the Liberty party press may be no less obnoxious to sound criticism, but as that is "small game," I let it pass.

I have lately witnessed, as who has not, that notices anything, the indignation, these presses exhibit, (the Boston Atlas for instance,) in view of the recent disclosures, showing the active and actual participation of American citizens in the foreign Slave-Trade; and the trade itself has been denounced with no stinted measure, on the ground of its inherent injustice and inhumanity.

When we consider that these presses have never unmuzzled their wrath against the domestic slave-trade, an enormity far more revolting and inhuman than the foreign—and when we consider that both political parties are in alliance with slaveholders, and under an implied if not express stipulation, that Northern politicians are to sustain the slave interests of their Southern allies; when, I say, we see these things, we feel that the humbug and cant, about the foreign Slave-Trade, is quite too palpable to be decent. The adage of the pot and the kettle is significantly appropriate. Those who can sit quietly in any position, either as citizens or partisans, that sustains the domestic trade, ought, from every motive of consistency, not to say from very shame, hold their peace on the subject of the foreign Slave-Trade. Will these subtle casuists and mock moralists tell us the distinctive moral difference between the foreign Slave-Trade, and the legal, national, domestic Slave-Trade of these United States?

Again, a paragraph is going the rounds in these papers, describing a circumstance of extreme cruelty upon a mulatto slave boy, in New Orleans, and much indignation is vented upon the owner of the boy and the laws of Louisiana, which not only tolerate these things, but provide legal officers to do the whipping, just as we provide legal officers to do the hanging among us. It seems the boy was tortured to that degree, that his life was in danger. Do these editors suppose that this is a solitary case, instead of an every-day occurrence? that it is an exception in the condition and history of Slavery? Nay, verily, do they not know that extreme cruelty is the necessary condition of Slavery? Can they conceive of human beings held in such abject degradation as *necessarily* pertains to Slavery, by silken cords, or by the bonds of mutual love and interest? Such a supposition is sheer nonsense. No, the whip, wielded by the unrelenting hand, the bloodhound, the bowie-knife, and the rifle, are as proper, necessary, and legitimate appendages to Slavery, as steam for a locomotive. I do not say that it is necessary *every* slave should be whipped and tortured to the verge of life, but I do aver that every slave must be *made* to know—and does know, from common observation, if not from his own horrible experience, that any deviation from the absolute will of his master, will inevitably subject him to the necessary amount of punishment, even to death under tortures, the recital alone of which would chill the blood. The Spanish inquisition has not better understood and more unhesitatingly practised the art of torture, than our Southern brethren of this American Union. Now the humbug and cant which these Northern presses exhibit in view of the African Slave-Trade, and the necessary cruelties of the American slave-system, legalized and nationalized by our "glorious Union," is insufferable, and deserves the indignant reprehension of every honest heart. But the worst is not yet. These dogs in the manger have been in quiet partnership with Slavery for years, and only snarled at those who attempted to reveal its secrets, expose its enormities, and abate the nuisance; and now, forsooth, they invoke our sympathy for the necessary, the inevitable results of a system, which many of them always have, and do now sustain,—which more have palliated, excused, or justified—and none, no, none, have dared, or even now dare oppose with a manly and honest indignation. E. I.

REPUBLIC OF CALIFORNIA.

We learn by late advices that the revolution in upper California is said to have commenced without the loss of a single life. The people informed the Governor that his exactions were cruel, oppressive, and contrary to those principles of enlightened Government which prevails among the most intelligent and prosperous nations. They asked a withdrawal of certain proclamations and laws issued by order of the Mexican Government. They had had no part in the enactment of those laws, and could not acknowledge the right of any body of men to impose laws upon them without their knowledge or consent. The Governor treated the people with contempt, and threatened instant death if they persisted in their demands. Alarmed for their personal safety, the settlers resolved to risk their lives at once in a struggle for independence: the Government herds, cattle, horses, &c. were driven from around the Governor's dwelling or Fort; scouting parties were stationed at a distance of some miles to cut off all supplies, and after the lapse of a few weeks, messengers were despatched to the Fort to ascertain the disposition of Governor Micheltorena and his army. The armed settlers numbered two to one of the army. *Resistance was useless, and the Governor withdrew with his forces, leaving the country in possession of the settlers, who had proclaimed it independent, as the "Republic of California."*

Communications.

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, on Tuesday, May 27, 1845, at 10 o'clock, A. M. and was called to order by Francis Jackson, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion, Wendell Phillips, Charles K. Whipple, and William A. White, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers of the Convention. This committee subsequently reported, and their report was adopted, as follows:

President—WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Vice Presidents—Charles Lenox Remond, James N. Buffum, Francis Jackson, of Massachusetts; Peter Libbey, of Maine; Benjamin Comings, of New Hampshire; William Bolles, of Connecticut; Seth Sprague, of Massachusetts.

Secretaries—Daniel Ricketson, New Bedford; Oliver Johnson, New-York; Mary P. Kenney, Salem.

Mr. Garrison, on taking the Chair, congratulated the Convention on the auspicious circumstances under which it had convened, and expressed the hope that its proceedings would, as on former occasions, be characterized by a spirit of indomitable perseverance, and uncompromising fidelity.

On motion of Charles Lenox Remond, the following persons were nominated by the President, and appointed by the Convention a Committee on business: Wendell Phillips, Eliza Lee Follen, Caroline Weston, John M. Fisk, John Bailey, Sydney Howard Gay, William A. White, Stephen S. Foster, Joshua T. Everett.

On motion, the following persons were appointed a Committee on Finance and the Roll: Charles K. Whipple, Cyrus M. Burleigh, Benjamin S. Jones.

The Committee on Business having retired, the President introduced to the Convention, JOHN CAMPBELL CLURE, from Scotland, who made a deeply interesting speech.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions:

1. Resolved that we joyfully welcome to our ranks, the new Anti-Slavery lecturer—the Narrative of the Life of Frederic Douglas, written by himself; and that we commend it with confidence to the attention of all those who believe the slaves of the South to be either well treated, or happy, or ignorant of their right to freedom, or in need of preparation to make them fit for freedom; and that we urge upon the friends of the cause the duty of circulating it among all classes.

2. Whereas, Jesus Christ taught and exemplified, as *essential righteousness*, that every man should *love his neighbor as himself*, and *do unto others as he would that they should do unto him*; all of which is denied, reversed, and trampled under foot, by man-stealing in all its stages; therefore,

Resolved, That pro-slavery is anti-Christianity, and that any person, or society of persons, professing to be Christians, who uphold, justify, or apologize for slave-holding, do, thereby, (however unconsciously,) renounce Christianity, deny their Lord in the presence of his enemies, and give their voice for his crucifixion, in the *sacrifice of his principles*.

3. Resolved, That viewing the churches of the land as the bulwarks of the slave system, and seeing no other possible results of the giant sin which has so long rested in their midst, than division or destruction, this Convention welcomes with unfeigned gratitude to God, the thick coming signs, that the great sectarian organizations of the land are breaking in pieces before the rebuke of the civilized world; and hail in this fact the evidence that the emancipation of the slave will be peaceful, and not by blood, and will take place in one day, in spite of the indifference of parties, or the selfishness of priests.

The above resolutions were discussed by Frederic Douglas, S. S. Foster, Seth Sprague, Dr. Osgood, of Springfield; Charles Stearns, and Mr. Rust, of do. W. L. Garrison, George Allen, of Worcester, and James N. Buffum, of Lynn.

Adjourned to half-past two o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—Convened pursuant to adjournment, Francis Jackson in the Chair.

The discussion upon the resolutions before the meeting at time of adjournment was resumed by Dr. Grandin, of Brunswick, Me.; Phillips, Sprague, Garrison, Foster, and Clure.

Adjourned to half-past seven o'clock.

Evening Session.—Met according to adjournment.

The resolutions before the meeting were further considered by H. Clapp, Jr. of Lynn; Seth Sprague, Elizur Wright, J. N. Buffum, George Bradburn, of Nantucket; Phillips, Garrison, John Levy, of Lowell; Osgood, John Toohey, of Philadelphia, and John C. Clure.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock, A. M.

Wednesday,—Morning Session.—Convened pursuant to adjournment.

The meeting being called to order, was addressed by Loring Moody, of Harwich, in support of the resolutions under consideration at time of adjournment.

He was followed by Mr. Smith, of Ohio, Clure, Clapp, Toohey, and Garrison.

On motion of C. M. Burleigh, Jeremiah B. Sanderson, of New Bedford, and Elias Richards, of Weymouth, were added to the Committee of Finance, and the Roll.

N. P. Rogers, of Concord, N. H. introduced the following resolutions for the consideration of the meeting; not for majority adoption, but individual opinion:

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery movement is legitimately and strictly a *moral* movement, and to be carried on by moral means alone.

Resolved, That its appeals ought all to be addressed to the moral and intellectual character, and to be such as moral and intellectual beings can honorably receive and entertain.

Resolved, That there ought to be no physical force resorted to, against the slave master, or his non-slaveholding coadjutor; against the master on the plantation at the South, or his more culpable pro-slavery ally at the North, viz: the Northern enemy of the Anti-Slavery movement.

Resolved, That neither should the slave be invited to massacre his master; nor the army or navy be employed for his coercion, to compel him to abandon his system; nor penal legislation, in Congress or the States; nor threats of any such thing;—that Abolitionists can neither attempt any of these compulsory measures, themselves, nor urge the adoption of them upon political or military men.

Resolved, That Slavery cannot be rightfully or effectually *fought* down, either by the sword of the magistrate; by the bullet-box of the soldier, or the ballot-box of the politician—ballots being only preparatives for bullets, as it were their paper-wadding; as threats, of which bullets are the execution. That the only rightful anti-slavery instrumentalities are TRUTH AND GOOD WILL.

Resolved, That the truth, to be effective, must be told, unaccompanied by any threats, or any expressions of hostility; that the slaveholder, whether at the South or at the North, might be regarded as one amenable to reason and moral influences, and treated accordingly; and that we ought not to threaten him with *divine* vengeance any more than with *human*, as an inducement to him to abandon his culpable positions, but address his reason and conscience, and all his better qualities, in a manner honorable to a human being to hear and consider.

Resolved, That the Abolitionists ought not to threaten him with non-intercourse of any kind, except in the matter of slaveholding, or threaten him with "disunion" in anything but his slaveholding; and that no disunion, of any sort, either political or religious, ought to be urged by Abolitionists, or the politicians, or the sects, as a means of coercing the Southern people to abandon their slave system.

Resolved, That "No Union with Slaveholders," so far as it regards the political government of the country, is a policy the North has no right to adopt toward the South, or to threaten; and that it is unjustifiable, unfriendly, and highly injurious to the Anti-Slavery movement for Abolitionists to urge it, or advocate it.

Resolved, That if the North has agreed with the South to enslave the colored man, that agreement she is bound to repent of and forsake, but not any other agreement; that, as far as the national compact is to sustain Slavery, it ought not to be fulfilled, but abandoned; that the motto should be, "No Union" in *Slaveholding*—not, "*No Union with Slaveholders*."

Resolved, That all speech should be free and unrestrained—that meetings should be free and unregulated by officers and majorities; and that the press should be uncontrolled of all censorship, whether by "Boards" or corporate majorities; and that any measures to regulate speech or the press, grounded on the opinion that individual freedom cannot "safely be tolerated," are tyrannous in their nature, and subversive of the Anti-Slavery movement.

Wendell Phillips moved the reference of the resolutions to the Business Committee.

The question of commitment was discussed by C. L. Remond, Foster, Richard Hildreth, of Boston; J. M. Fiske of West Brookfield, Phillips, Clapp, and Rogers.

The question of adjournment being raised, was put and negatived.

The discussion upon commitment of resolutions, was continued by Phillips and Hildreth.

The motion was put and carried.

Adjourned to meet at 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.—Convened agreeably to adjournment, J. N. Buffum in the Chair.

The following resolutions were reported by the Business Committee:

Resolved, That it is in accordance with the spirit of the "Golden Rule," and therefore the imperative duty of Abolitionists, to counsel and aid the slaves, by all peaceful and moral means, to make their escape from the house of their bondage.

Whereas, David Ruggles, one of the most devoted, self-sacrificing and efficient friends of the slave, has been struck in the midst of his usefulness by blindness, and is thus incapacitated from earning his livelihood; therefore,

Resolved, That he is entitled to the grateful sympathy and cheerful assistance of every Abolitionist.

The resolution respecting David Ruggles was taken up, and supported by Frederic Douglas, and Mr. Parker, from Northampton, and adopted.

On motion, the entire series of resolutions, reported by the committee, were then taken up for consideration, in connection with those before the meeting during the morning session.

The resolutions were then discussed by R. Hildreth, Dr. Grandin, and Mr. Clure.

The following Pledge was then reported by the chairman of the Business Committee:

Believing that the Government of the United States is opposed to the principles of Christianity and civil liberty, and that an oath to support it is utterly irreconcilable with the freedom of the slave,

We, the undersigned, hereby pledge ourselves never to vote for a candidate for any office, either under a United States or a State Government, the entrance upon which requires such oath or affirmation.

The discussion upon the resolutions was continued by Loring Moody, G. W. F. Mellen, of Boston; Addison Davis, of Lynn; Wm. B. Stone, of Gardiner, S. S. Foster, J. N. Buffum, Parker Pillsbury, of Milford, N. H.; and J. B. Pinney, an agent of the Colonization Society.

Adjourned to half-past seven o'clock.

Evening Session.—Convention met pursuant to adjournment, J. N. Buffum in the chair.

The resolutions before the meeting at time of adjournment were then further considered by J. B. Pinney, in a Biblical defence of Slavery. He was replied to by Wendell Phillips, succeeded by Dr. W. Channing, of Boston, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Adjourned to 9 o'clock, A. M.

Thursday Morning.—Met pursuant to adjournment, C. L. Remond in the chair.

Meeting being called to order, the resolutions under consideration at the time of adjournment were further discussed by Dr. Grandin, J. C. Clure, Pillsbury, Johnson, Robert Owen, of England; Wm. B. Earle, of Leicester; Wm. A. White, Wm. H. Channing, of New-York, and S. S. Foster.

Adjourned to meet at half-past two o'clock.

Afternoon Session.—J. M. Fisk moved that no person speak more than once on the resolution touching the Pledge, before taking the final vote on said resolution, and that each speaker be limited to the time of five minutes.

The subject was discussed by the mover, Wm. B. Earle, and R. Hildreth.

G. W. F. Mellen addressed the Convention, but was called to order on the ground of irrelevancy. The Chair pronounced him to be out of order, from which decision Mr. Mellen appealed, but the Chair was sustained by a unanimous vote.

On motion, the question upon limitation of time and the Pledge were both laid upon the table.

WENDELL PHILLIPS introduced the following:

Resolved, That, in the present crisis of the cause, when the hand of a gracious Providence seems opening the way before us, and testifying by its blessing that the method and instrumentalities hitherto employed by us are able, sound, and efficient, it becomes us to strain every nerve, and make every effort in our power, by consecrating our time, our talents, and our funds more liberally.

The resolution was discussed by Phillips, Mellen, Bradburn, Remond, Rogers, of Chelsea; Douglass, Foster, Buffum, Sprague, John N. Mars, of Salem, and Albert Brisbane, of New-York.

Adjourned to meet at half-past seven o'clock.

Evening Session.—Met pursuant to adjournment, Francis Jackson in the chair.

The following resolutions were reported by the chairman of the Business Committee, and adopted:

Resolved, That we receive with great pleasure the beautiful tribute of Mr. Charles C. Green to the Anti-Slavery cause, "The Nubian Slave," and would thank him in the name of three millions of bondmen for this successful effort in their behalf.

Resolved, That while we acknowledge with gratitude in behalf of the cause, the various gifts of genius, taste, and art, which have been laid upon its altar since the opening of this Convention, we should do that cause injustice, did we not warmly recommend for general circulation the beautiful song which has been dedicated, through Frederick Douglass, to the fugitive slaves of America, by our esteemed fellow-laborer, Jesse Hutchinson, Jr.

Resolved, That this Convention observes the recent letter of Harriet Martineau to the Abolitionists of America, with that feeling of high satisfaction which the sight of rectitude of conduct and fidelity to principle inspires; at the same time, deeply feeling and gratefully acknowledging the difference between a real Abolitionist's cheering the hearts and strengthening the hands of those who lead the van and bear the brunt of the hottest battle with Slavery, and those caviling spirits that are fain to claim the name, whilst all their sympathy and influence is with our oppressors.

Resolved, That we take this opportunity to convey to Messrs. L'Instant, Cupidon, La Forrestrie, Damai, L'Espinasse, Guerrier, and others, (who have recently expressed, in behalf of the Republic of Hayti, the interest felt there in our proceedings,) the warmest welcome to our ranks, which they have so much strengthened the cause by joining; and beg them to receive the assurance of our most earnest endeavors to obtain from our own nation justice for theirs.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to those gentlemen by the officers of this Convention, accompanied by a box of the medal struck by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840.

The first three resolutions submitted to the Convention were then called up and adopted. The following resolution was reported:

Resolved, That this Convention, while it deems the position of the American Anti-Slavery Society, under the motto of "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS," to be the only true position for Abolitionists, in Church and State,—still holds it to be duty to keep its sternest rebukes for those styling themselves Abolitionists, whether members of the societies with which this Convention is connected, or otherwise, who, in utter recreancy to the principles which they have professed, give their support to the candidates of either of the political parties; since all of them are hostile to freedom, and the foes of the slave.

The above resolution was then discussed in connection with the pledge, and resolutions introduced by Rogers, by Adin Ballou, of Milford, and Lunsford Lane. Parker Pillsbury followed, but was interrupted by the opponents of the cause, who persisting in their disturbance, after remarks from Wendell Phillips, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

DANIEL RICKETSON,
OLIVER JOHNSON,
MARY P. KENNY,
} *Secretaries.*

Boston, May 29, 1845.

The Principle—the End—the Means.

Right for the sake of the right, according to every man's conscientious conception of what is right, is the only successful mode of carrying on any moral enterprise to a triumphant issue. The original Anti-Slavery platform, broad enough to admit every individual of the human race opposed to man's oppressing his fellow-man, regardless of creed, clime, color, sex, or condition, was the true position for Abolitionists to take whose only motive was right for the sake of the right, and truth for the love of truth, and love for their fellow-men because they were men, and immortal, intelligent, social beings.

It is not remarkable that in prosecuting such an enterprise upon such a basis, with all the errors which the world has cherished and which it has called experience, that there should be a variety of opinions with regard to measures to be adopted and the manner in which they should be prosecuted. Nor was it surprising that in the advocacy of modes of action, the sense of societies should be determined according to the customs of deliberative bodies, by ascertaining the will of the majority by vote; neither is it strange that differences should thus arise, and divisions take place, according to the sense of the right in the minds of individuals.

The mere divisions resulting from such honest differences is not a calamity, but the real evil to be deplored is, that those, separating themselves, upon questions arising, should not be content with saying: "Brethren, we gladly co-operate with you in sustaining the great principles, and in contending for it we will still stand together on the original broad platform; but wherein we essentially differ we must labor separately, but let there be no strife between us. We all look upon the great moral aspects of this enterprise in the same general light; but as that light is variously reflected we see differently in the detail."

As a society it was unnecessary that the Abolitionists should organize a political party, but if some among us considered it necessary that their political influence should be concentrated rather than scattered, they might have done so without agitating the peace of the Society in the slightest degree.

If one man according to his perception of right, could not conscientiously vote, and two or three others believed it necessary and right not only to vote, but all to vote for the same person, the way was open, easy, and plain. But when the voting member, in the belief that the non-resistant was not doing all that he might do, proceeded to rob him of the rights of conscience, and insist, against his own sense of right, that he should do what he believed to be evil, that good might come—therein lay the wrong, the injustice, the disregard of the great principle of right for the sake of the right.

When one portion of the Society, believing the other portion to be wrong in their mode of adapting means to the end, and inefficient by consequence, and therefore consented, (perhaps for the good of the slave,) to rob and endeavor to destroy any of his friends, the great principle of right for the sake of the right was trampled under foot.

When as light continued to increase, and duties before unperceived became apparent, and Abolitionists perceived they could not consistently vote and swear to sustain a pro-slavery Constitution, even to abolish Slavery, and therefore forced an anti-slavery construction upon that Constitution, there was another compromise made, and another departure from the great principle of right for its own sake, regardless of consequences. And when many voters, who could not bring themselves to look upon this interpretation as just and true, are denounced for not voting against their conscientious convictions, another step has been taken in departing from the same principle. And when the third party condescended to resort to the political trimming, and misrepresentation, and scurrility, of the other parties, they added to the innumerable testimonies which history has given, that those that depart from a great principle in one particular are capable of abandoning it altogether.

Had the division in 1840 been an expedient without violating principle, harmony might still have existed among voting and non-voting Abolitionists, though their strictures upon each other might be very severe.

When in the progress of these events some non-resistants discovered that they not only could not vote at the polls, but that they could not even vote upon an Anti-Slavery resolution or measure, they might, one would suppose, have satisfied their own sense of right for its own sake, by simply refusing to vote, and by giving their honest convictions utterance, without manifesting a disposition to *force* their views upon others, who were not yet convinced, and did not at all indeed perceive the inherent wrongfulness of uttering yea or nay to a simple proposition. When they, in obedience to their perception of the principle of right, because it is right, contended for free meetings, versus organized assemblies, they did what was not only their *right*, but their duty to do. But when they resolved that those, who were not yet sufficiently enlightened to perceive the inherent wrongfulness of organization as an instrumentality, and the superiority of unorganized effort, should not be suffered to proceed according to their perceptions of what was right and proper, and the best way in which *they were* able to labor successfully, they trampled upon the principle of right for the sake of the right.

If N. P. Rogers and J. R. French discovered that they could not, consistently with their ideas of what was the only true course for them to pursue, edit and publish the Herald of Freedom, by contract, with a Society or its Board of Managers, they did nothing but what they ought to have done, in refusing to listen to any terms from the "Board," however advantageous to themselves. But when Rogers *assumed*, that as individuals, the Committee were intelligent and honest men, but as a Board, were both knaves and fools, if he did not violate a principle, he discovered something new, both in ethics and logic; and when he declared that the property did not belong to anybody, and that, therefore, the Society had no right to use, and French, acting upon a similar idea, refused to allow the Board to continue to publish the paper, it appears to me that right, for the sake of the right, was abandoned and wrong, for the sake of sustaining their own views of things, and defeating so wrong a thing as Board action was made an expedient. That N. P. Rogers's motive was to sustain the principle of *unorganized* action, there is *no doubt*; but, that the Committee to whom the question of ownership of the Herald was submitted, made *that issue* (which Rogers says was never a question) an occasion for attacking the *principle* of *unorganized* action, there is not the *shadow of a shade of evidence*.

Friend Rogers might have withdrawn from his post as editor of the Herald, (upon the principle that he could not edit for an *organization*,) without coming into conflict with his friends. He might then have started a new paper, *as a new paper*, upon his own principles, and on his own responsibility, and advocated the views nearest his heart, without having anybody interfere with himself or the publisher; and he would have got more subscribers than he now will, one more, at least, to my certain knowledge, and as many as his admiring friends could have helped him to.

But much as I would have desired to see the new paper sustained, (and I would not have abandoned the old one,) I will not encourage, knowingly, any departure in him or any one else, from the principle of right for the sake of the right, to sustain free meeting, unorganized or organized, nor to overthrow a corrupt Church, nor a corrupt Government—or even to abolish Slavery, war, and avarice throughout the world—for I know, unless the eternal laws of rectilinear justice are false, that interminable evil will result from abandoning the principle, whatever apparent good may result from the expedient. Friend Rogers's course is one of the most difficult things to account for, but that he has acted upon the long-established but false dogma, that the end justifies the means, appears too plain.

Look, too, at the conservative presses that have spoken on this subject. While Rogers was editing the old paper, he received their unmitigated denunciation as a non-resistant, come-outer, no-government, no-church, no-organization infidel. Has he changed in any of these things? Not he—yet these presses are wishing him God speed, speaking highly of his course, and expressing the opinion, the wish even, that his paper may succeed, and Herald of Freedom die with starvation. Who believes in their sincerity? Do they really wish to see the Liberty party, the Union, the Government, the State, and the sects, without distinction and without exception, overthrown? With all the folly with which fools were ever cursed, there is not one so great a fool as to believe this.

The true reason continually leaks out. It cannot be concealed. Personal hatred towards Wm. L. Garrison and Maria W. Chapman, is the whole cause. Had these two persons taken Rogers's position, and he remained where they now stand, a yell of fiendish joy at their departure from rectitude, and their inevitable and irreclaimable fall, would have burst forth from all these presses, and many that are yet silent, while Rogers would have received the same equivocal good wishes that he now does. Far distant in the ages of eternity be the day when Hell shall triumph over the departure of these champions of truth, from the irrevocable principle of RIGHT FOR THE SAKE OF THE RIGHT.

I know it is asked, who is Garrison, that he should be such an object of hate and dread? that there should be such an intense desire to destroy him more than any other man? Garrison is, in truth, no more than any other man in the eyes of those who look upon men merely as men, and not as, in certain cases, something more or less than men. But he is in the eyes of many something more, and more to be dreaded than other men, as the pioneer of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. It is because that neither hope nor fear, nor private friendship, nor personal dislike, nor love of ease, nor dread of public opinion, nor the prospect of quicker success, nor the sense of a protracted struggle, has ever yet been sufficient to cause him to swerve from the path of rectitude. Though Pillsbury, Phillips, Quincy, H. C. Wright, and a host of others—if the whole Anti-Slavery phalanx should depart and leave him all alone in his rectitude, it would not cause the enemies of the American Anti-Slavery Society such a hope of triumph, such joy and exultation, as it would to see him fall singly and alone. To see him removed by death, though it might gratify, would not yield any encouragement to his enemies, but to see him forsake the principle of right for its own sake, would produce the same effect that would be produced in Great Britain if Daniel O'Connell should forsake the cause of Repeal, and go over to the side of the British Government.

Those who adhere to this principle are termed Garrisonians. Be it so, names are of little consequence except as they express ideas. Those who follow merely certain leaders, of right must bear their names. While Garrison remains true to principle, and true to truth and honesty, it will not be easy to *know* who are indeed Garrisonians. When Garrison forsakes the right, those who go with him in support of the wrong, will prove to the world that they are the true Garrisonians. All that can be predicated of them until then, is, that they are Abolitionists.

We know who are Birneyites, Tappanites, &c. We know who are Scottites, and who are Rogerites. Long, long may it be ere it shall be *legitimately* said of any, they are Garrisonites. D. S. G——.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1845.

Annual Riot of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society.

It is enough, perhaps, to give the above caption to designate the character of the meeting held last week, in Concord, under the name of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society. I call it so, because this is the second or third time that precisely the same moboeratic spirit and riotous proceedings have characterized the meeting. I hope it is the last. I have a few words, however, to add, by way of description and comment.

I wish first to premise, that it has been the wish of my co-editors and myself to avoid, as far as it was possible to do so, involving this paper in the unfortunate controversy relative to the Herald of Freedom. Very little has been said by either of us, and that little has been dictated by a painful sense of duty. But we have each felt the truth of the words of Mr. Rogers, uttered a year ago, in answer to a call of my own, upon the New Hampshire Abolitionists, to support *their* Herald of Freedom, that "Anti-Slavery knows no State lines." We have felt, and I trust always shall feel, that anything involving the integrity or honesty of the cause, or its advocates in any particular section of country, concerns Abolitionists everywhere; that the golden chain which binds us together, is made of such true metal, and is so firmly linked, that a blow struck upon one section is felt painfully or pleasantly, as the case may be, throughout its whole length. Indeed, it must be felt, and we have no right not to heed the touch. I wish, now, that I had not been in New Hampshire last week, that the painful task of describing the meeting might be spared me. But having gone, the duty devolves upon me to give the result, which is so different from what I hoped. I will fulfil the duty as faithfully as I may.

The meeting was called by the Board of Managers of the Society. They certainly had the right to give the call, and it was no more than reasonable to expect that all who heeded it, would do so in that spirit of courtesy and kindness which will not trench upon the acknowledged right of others, to do a thing not immoral in itself, and done from a conscientious conviction of its necessity. Nobody was obliged to go to the meeting, but there was the deepest obligation upon all who did go, not to interfere with its purpose if they could not advance it. The sequel will show that there was a settled purpose to defeat the object of the Society, and an apparent determination that the question at issue, in relation to the Herald, should not only not be settled, but that it should not even be discussed. I know that in making this charge, I am imputing to the opponents of the New Hampshire Society, not merely unfairness, unworthy of professed Abolitionists, but dishonesty unworthy of men. It is, nevertheless, my firm conviction, from a careful observation of their spirit and conduct.

When I entered the Hall, Stephen S. Foster was speaking on the propriety and necessity of organizing the meeting, inasmuch as this was the regular annual meeting of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, a regularly organized body. Not only was his position denied, but he was not permitted to present his thoughts on the subject for five consecutive minutes, because of the continued interruptions from Mr. Rogers and his friends. These interruptions, made under the plea of free speech, though annoying and uncalled for, were, I am glad to say, at first generally courteous, and objectionable only because preventing the interchange of free thought, and thus defeating their professed object. They soon, however, changed their character, and the rest of this session was consumed in an unprofitable discussion, which left upon the mind of the hearer only an impression of vague and unprofitable weariness, in which one party would not, and the other was not permitted to come to any tangible point. The President, Mr. Comings, put the question directly to Mr. Rogers, if he was not willing that those believing in the necessity of organization, even though in the minority, should act in the way that seemed to them best. The reply was in the affirmative, providing that the free speech of those not believing in organization was not thereby infringed upon. On the other hand it was contended that the Society had a right to insist upon its own rules of order, and that its rights were infringed upon by those who threw any obstacles in its way, by the introduction of their peculiar notions. The marvel was, that this common-sense view of the matter should be contended against. On the one side lay the *liberty* of all, and on the other, the *license* of the few. The question, however, was finally tested, by nominating a Secretary, Mr. Rogers protesting against the right of any such nomination. His plea was, that the majority of the New Hampshire Society had outgrown organization, and would not be trammelled by it. The answer was, that then such persons were false to their own principles, by attending to the call of an organized body, and could no longer be the Society, that right vesting in those who still believed in the necessity of organization. The vote was finally taken, and was, of course, in the affirmative, as the no-organizationists refused to vote. The vote was a large one, if we could believe our own ears. Mr. Rogers, however, called upon all present to notice the fact, of which he meant to make use thereafter, that the Secretary was chosen by only *two* votes. The question was tried over again by a show of hands, and the result was *twenty-five* in the affirmative. No votes, of course, in the negative this time. But as the opposition were too conscientious to say *nay* at the call of the Chairman, they were called upon by Mr. Rogers to say something else instead expressive of dissent! But as they did not know what to say, they said nothing, or there were none to say anything, or they did not really comprehend that the whole sin of voting lay in the word used. At any rate, there were but two or three who protested, though I do not doubt that a *minority* of perhaps a dozen or fifteen coincided with Mr. Rogers.

The first session was the least disagreeable, the least stormy, and the least ridiculous—if that may be called ridiculous in which there was so much wrong—of any. In this we only had a taste of that quality with which we were afterward dosed *ad nauseam*. Deacon Chandler was not present, and a Mr. Smith, the chief annoyance—of whom it only need be said, that he is worse than Abigail Folsom, inasmuch as he never said a good thing, as she sometimes does, and cannot plead insanity for his bad conduct as she may—was decent and respectable compared with his after conduct. I never saw or heard of this man before, and know not whence he came. Indeed, I am not sure he came from anywhere, but was sent from nowhere, as the frogs were in Egypt. I only know that he was called Mr. Smith, wore huge spectacles, carried an immense umbrella, and spoke with the brogue of a Scotchman. He looked like Paul Pry, and had all and more of his annoying qualities, with none of his good nature. He was seldom quiet, except when he had just produced utter confusion, and never looked pleased, except at the height of it. He was so clamorous for free speech, that nobody could get it except himself, who only abused it. His genius for disorder is so overpowering, that I do not doubt that the vituperative and termagant powers of his single tongue must long ago have clamored into silence the town in which he lives—if he lives in any. He is a legitimate offspring of the so-called "free-meeting."

The second session differed only from the first in being more confused. The advocates of free speech had grown bolder, and were more careful to monopolize it for themselves, and more successful in denying it to others. The first motion to invite all persons to share in the deliberations of the Society, was protested against by Mr. Rogers, and railed against by others. It came now to be distinctly observable that those who were most forward in interrupting the organizationists, rarely interfered—or if at all in a courteous and proper manner—with the no-organizationists. It was again claimed that the New Hampshire Abolitionists were not in favor of organization, though they still claimed to be the Society, and the assumption again declared to be unwarranted by Foster, Wood, and others. There was much personal altercation, and reflection upon the motives and characters of individuals, and some of the no-organizationists were placed, and placed themselves, in no very enviable position. Foster branded, and very justly, the conduct of the opposition as moboeratic, and compared it with the conduct of the mob in the Marlboro' Chapel the week before, and said he would as lief be denied the right to be heard by men's heels, as their tongues. Mr. Rogers denounced the charge of moboeracy as "atrocious," and added, that he was not surprised at anything from *that* quarter. Jesse Hutchinson, in answer to a charge from James Buffum of his having assisted in the election of Polk, replied that he was an old Democrat and his sympathies were with the Democratic party, as Buffum's were with the Whigs for a similar reason. Whereupon Mr. Smith seized his hat and run from the hall, much to the edification and amusement of the spectators. Unfortunately he returned again in less than five minutes. One man advertised the loss of his hat as a perfectly legitimate subject of debate in such a meeting, and another made a eulogy upon the character of Washington. When at length a successful effort was made for a few moments to bring some matter of business before the meeting, and the idlers around the door began to disperse, Mr. Rogers called upon all to notice that the spirit of corporation drove away the people. As if all those who were thus driven away had come there from any other motive than that which would lead them to a bear-garden or a dog-fight. The question of the Herald of Freedom, which the Abolitionists then present were desirous of discussing, was hardly alluded to, or if touched upon was staved off, or indirectly clamored down. It was in the power of Mr. Rogers and his friends to have brought it at any moment before the meeting, but they did not choose to do so, or at any rate they did not do it. Neither was there any allusion the most distant, that I remember, made to Slavery.

At the opening of the evening session, Wendell Phillips was called for, for the towns-people had filled the hall. Doubtless they were anxious to hear an Anti-Slavery speech. It seemed to be the only opportunity that might be afforded to bring up the Herald matter. Some of us had gone there for that alone, and Mr. Phillips availed himself of the presence of the towns-people in keeping order, to defend himself and others from the aspersions which had been thrown upon them for the course they pursued in the Committee of the November meeting. He made a clear and unanswerable exposition of the whole difficulty, from the beginning up to that moment, showing it to be a business question in the first place, relative to the management of the pecuniary affairs of the Herald, and one in which Mr. Rogers was in no way involved till he chose to make a new and uncalled for issue in relation to organization. Mr. Foster also spoke for a few moments to the same purpose. But the only answer given was a letter read by Mr. French, in which somebody recounted certain things said by S. S. Foster in private conversation, respecting Mr. Rogers, but which had absolutely nothing to do with the merits of the question. This was the only session in which the right of speech was at all regarded, and this, as I have just hinted, was no doubt owing to the presence of a large audience who came there to be instructed, and not amused.

It is not worth while to describe every session. They were all alike, except that each succeeding session was more disorderly and more moboeratic in its character than that which preceded it. On Thursday morning we were favored by the presence of Deacon Chandler, who permitted none of the organizationists to speak for three minutes without interruption. He was a valuable coadjutor to Mr. Smith, and between them they contrived to occupy most of the time. What Mr. Smith said, I could seldom gather. Deacon Chandler gave brief but frequent dissertations on a variety of subjects, including beards, sore-throats, wearing apparel, the people of Ohio, Community, and the Law of Love, of which last he is so eminent an exemplification. It is probable, however, that the poor creature is so insane that he is hardly to be held accountable for his malicious cunning. The blame for his conduct should be charged where it belongs,—upon those who encourage him by their example and precept in the continued outrage he commits upon the rights of others. Mr. Garrison, who had arrived the evening before after waiting patiently two or three hours for an opportunity to speak, on finding that the attempt would be utterly useless, left the house. He had not been gone many minutes before Mr. Rogers rose to speak to the subject on which all were so desirous of hearing him. The subject was one which should have been met by him of all men, in an earnest and truth-seeking spirit. But his opening remark was that the whole difficulty resolved itself into this—"that Stephen S. Foster once looked solemn, and John R. French laughed!" No new light was thrown upon the matter in the course of his rem

The Rev. Mr. Tilden offered the vestry of his church for the use of the Society, and a meeting was held there that evening. It was a crowded, orderly, and deeply interesting one, and when contrasted with those of the two days before, proved conclusively that the most dangerous enemy in Concord to the cause of the slave, is the factious party, who in the name of free speech had destroyed free speech, and in the guise of Abolitionists had mobbed Abolitionists.

The meeting of the Society the next day convened in the old North Church, the town-hall being left in the undisturbed possession of the disorganizers. It was a pleasant and profitable one, and though many persons had returned to their homes, enough were present to show that the New Hampshire Society still existed, and that her most efficient members were still true to the old organization. Several of the other party dropped in in the course of the morning, and among them Mr. French. He was asked in all kindness and courtesy by Addison Davis and Mr. Tilden to make the explanation there which we had tried in vain to get at the town-hall, in relation to the affairs of the Herald. He refused in the most contemptuous manner, saying that he should do no such thing, and that he did not recognize that body, though he afterward said he would answer any questions which any one chose to put to him. He evidently did not consider that those present were entitled to so much consideration from him as to entitle them to any voluntary explanation on his part, or even to be treated with common courtesy.

Long as it is, I have given here but a very meagre account of this meeting. My purpose has been rather to give a general notion of its character, than to relate succinctly all that occurred. I have extenuated nothing, exaggerated nothing, and set down nothing in malice. All who are not now convinced on which side lays the truth in the controversy which has somewhat divided us for a year past, at least so far as the spirit by which the two parties are governed, will not probably be convinced by any efforts of others. It is the last act of a most painful drama, and has drawn, unless the other party shall change their position, a sharp and distinct line between those who were once fast and very dear friends. I have no intention of engaging in any discussion or altercation respecting it, and the subject will not probably be again referred to in the columns of the Standard.—G.

Haïti.

The mere fact of a few months' residence in a foreign country, gives the traveller but little claim to that thorough knowledge which alone can justify the publication of his opinions. If he is not in a state of previous preparation of mind, little weight is due to anything he says. The want of this previous preparation is the grand cause of the general ignorance which prevails in this country respecting the republic of Haïti.

We do not even know in America how its name ought to be spelled. The word Haïti has a meaning. It is the original Indian name, signifying land of mountains; and it exactly describes this "Queen of the Antilles." It is mispronounced, wherever the English spelling, Hayti, prevails. Good sense, therefore, dictates an adherence to the French orthography, which conveys more certainly the original sound. But even those who follow the English spelling of the noun, always fall into the French formation of the adjective; though grammatical consistency would decide that the English formation of derivatives ought to prevail in writing English, while the original proper name should undergo no change. While these orthographical elements are in a state of fusion, let us take advantage of the moment to give them the right shape;—"Haïti" and "Haïtians;"—*not* "Hayti" and "Haytiens." The native of that Island, writing in his own French, must say "Haïtien." Not so the American writing English. Let him, in consistency, write "Russien" and "Prussien," too, if he will persist in retaining this foreign termination. Having settled for ourselves, and recommended to the consideration of others, what we conceive to be the true spelling of the names of this country and its inhabitants, we will proceed to give such desultory information respecting both, as a few months residence has enabled us to obtain; and we shall say nothing which has not been carefully observed, thoroughly considered, and impartially set down; and this care, thoroughly and impartially, will go far to account for the discrepancy which will be found between our impressions and observations, and those of the captains of top-sail schooners, and the clerks of mercantile houses, who visit Haïti only for business purposes.

It is our conviction that only an Abolitionist is capable of a sound judgment of what is to be there seen, or of drawing from it correct inferences. How *can* a slaveholder or an advocate of Slavery judge aright of a man of color? Much previous study of the history of this Island can alone qualify for a truly philosophical view of its condition. What slaveholder or slaveholder's advocate, will be willing to institute a historical examination, every step of which is over his favorite system? A sound knowledge of the French and Spanish languages is requisite. How many of those through whom we receive our ideas of Haïti, possess this qualification?

A long period of observation is needed for the collection, collation, and correction of memoranda for a serviceable volume upon this subject. What writer will be found risking his health and life for twelve consecutive months, in a climate so unfriendly to travellers from the temperate zone?

Perfectly aware of the requisites to write a good and serviceable book upon Haïti;—(a volume of pleasant literary froth is another affair—one, however agreeable, that an Abolitionist has not time for)—all indispensable requisites, but all of which we do not possess, we have resisted much solicitation to give a volume of Haïtian researches to the press. But the kind and degree of ignorance and misapprehension respecting Haïti, are such as to warrant the supposition that a few desultory sketches of a residence there, which shall make no pretensions to be of permanent value, may yet not be entirely useless, and may prove beneficial to that country by disposing the citizens of our own to do it justice. Justice for Haïti has from the beginning been deemed one of the legitimate objects of the American Anti-Slavery Society. No apology therefore is due for the forthcoming of a series of articles on Haïti in this paper, the official organ of Abolitionists. Perhaps, on the contrary, they have a right to such information as we can give. We shall therefore, in our next number, give the second of a contemplated succession of articles adapted to enlighten the gross and almost incredible ignorance in which pro-slavery prejudices have kept the American people. Let not the intelligent Haïtian, whose eye they may meet, marvel at their character. They are to be, in effect, replies to the questions actually put to us, by intelligent Americans.—c.

(*To be continued.*)

Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, written by himself. Boston. Anti-Slavery Office, 25 Cornhill, pp. 125.

This book ought to be read by all before whose mental blindness visions of happy slaves continually dance. It is the story of the life of a man of great intellectual power, in the very circumstances so often alluded to by the advocates for the longer continuance of Slavery;—in the Nothernmost of the slave States, and under kind masters. No wonder that those States patronize the Colonization Society for the removal of characters so dangerous to the perpetuity of Slavery. Once, the kind master made a merit of giving such a slave his freedom on condition of consenting to go to Liberia. *Nous avons changé tout cela;* the anti-slavery enterprise has drawn to itself the most effectual advocates from the victims of the system it opposes. It has, while shaking that system to its foundation, been unavoidably and incidentally the means of freeing and educating in their own native country, more of these single victims, than the Colonization Society, while doing its best to uphold Slavery, has been able to doom to African exile.

All pro-slavery men, all Abolitionists, and all those who are merely indifferent should buy this book. It will convince the first class, confirm the second, and by the mere interest of its delineation, amply satisfy the third. It is illustrated by a remarkably good engraving of the author. The condition of the infant and of the aged slave, the sorrowful songs of bondage so often quoted by Northern men as an excuse for standing aloof from the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and the swell of heart with which the thought of freedom fills the bosom of the fugitive, are all dwelt upon with that deep impressment which artistical skill strives in vain with melancholy experience, to equal. "I never saw my mother in the day-time. She used to travel in the evening twelve miles to see me, and return before morning." Shall not the simple pathos of this fact, one of a class of facts necessary in Slavery, raise the soul of every mother that reads it?

We have no space for extracts this week, nor do we wish to lessen the value of the narrative to purchasers by forestalling its deeply interesting contents. It is accompanied by a letter from Wendell Phillips, which so truly expresses our own feelings, that we subjoin it.—c.

LETTER OF W. PHILLIPS TO FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

BOSTON, April 22, 1845.

My Dear Friend:—You remember the old fable of "The Man and the Lion," where the lion complained that he should not be so misrepresented "when the lions wrote history."

I am glad the time has come when the "lions write history." We have been left long enough to gather the character of Slavery from the involuntary evidence of the masters. One might, indeed, rest sufficiently satisfied with what, it is evident, must be, in general, the results of such a relation, without seeking farther to find whether they have followed in every instance. Indeed, those who stare at the half-peck of corn a week, and love to count the lashes on the slave's back, are seldom the "stuff" out of which reformers and Abolitionists are to be made. I remember that, in 1838, many were waiting for the result of the West India experiment, before they could come into our ranks. Those "results" have come long ago; but, alas! few of that number have come with them as converts. A man must be disposed to judge of emancipation by other tests than whether it has increased the produce of sugar,—and to hate Slavery for other reasons than because it starves men and whips women,—before he is ready to lay the first stone of his Anti-Slavery life.

I was glad to learn, in your story, how early the most neglected of God's children waken to a sense of their rights, and of the injustice done them. Experience is a keen teacher; and long before you had mastered your A B C, or knew where the "white sails" of the Chesapeake were bound, you began, I see, to gauge the wretchedness of the slave, not by his hunger and want, not by his lashes and toil, but by the cruel and blighting death which gathers over his soul.

In connection with this, there is one circumstance which makes your recollections peculiarly valuable, and renders your insight the more remarkable. You come from that part of the country where we are told Slavery appears with its fairest features. Let us hear, then, what it is at its best estate—gaze on its bright side, if it has one; and then imagination may task her powers to add dark lines to the picture, as she travels southward to that (for the colored man) Valley of the Shadow of Death, where the Mississippi sweeps along.

Again, we have known you long, and can put the most entire confidence in your truth, candor, and sincerity. Every one who has heard you speak has felt, and, I am confident every one who reads your book will feel, persuaded that you give them a fair specimen of the whole truth. No one-sided portrait,—no wholesale complaints,—but strict justice done, whenever individual kindness has neutralized, for a moment, the deadly system with which it was strangely allied. You have been with us, too, some years, and can fairly compare the twilight of rights, which your race enjoy at the North, with that "noon of night" under which they labor south of Mason and Dixon's line. Tell us whether, after all, the half-free colored man of Massachusetts is worse off than the pampered slave of the rice swamps!

In reading your life, no one can say that we have unfairly picked out some rare specimens of cruelty. We know that the bitter drops, which even you have drained from the cup, are no incidental aggravations, no individual ills, but such as must mingle always and necessarily in the lot of every slave. They are the essential ingredients, not the occasional results, of the system.

After all, I shall read your book with trembling for you. Some years ago, when you were beginning to tell me your real name and birthplace, you may remember I stopped you, and preferred to remain ignorant of all. With the exception of a vague description, so I continued, till the other day, when you read me your memoirs. I hardly knew, at the time, whether to thank you or not for the sight of them, when I reflected that it was still dangerous, in Massachusetts, for honest men to tell their names! They say the fathers, in 1776, signed the Declaration of Independence with the halter about their necks. You, too, publish your declaration of freedom with danger compassing you around. In all the broad lands which the Constitution of the United States overshadows, there is no single spot,—however narrow or desolate,—where a fugitive slave can plant himself and say, "I am safe." The whole armory of Northern law has no shield for you. I am free to say that, in your place, I should throw the MS. into the fire.

You, perhaps, may tell your story in safety, endeared as you are to so many warm hearts by rare gifts, and a still rarer devotion of them to the service of others. But it will be owing only to your labors, and the fearless efforts of those who, trampling the laws and Constitution of the country under their feet, are determined that they will "hide the outcast," and that their hearths shall be, spite of the law, an asylum for the oppressed, if some time or other, the humblest may stand in our streets, and bear witness in safety against the cruelties of which he has been the victim.

Yet it is sad to think, that these very throbbing hearts which welcome your story, and form your best safeguard in telling it, are all beating contrary to the "statute in such case made and provided." Go on, my dear friend, till you, and those who, like you, have been saved, so as by fire, from the dark prison-house, shall stereotype these free illegal pulses into statutes; and New-England, cutting loose from a blood-stained Union, shall glory in being the house of refuge for the oppressed; till we no longer merely "*hide* the outcast," or make a merit of standing idly by while he is hunted in our midst; but, consecrating anew the soil of the Pilgrims as an asylum for the oppressed, proclaim our *welcome* to the slave so loudly, that the tones shall reach every hut in the Carolinas, and make the broken-hearted bondman leap up at the thought of old Massachusetts.

God speed the day! Till then, and ever,

Yours truly,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Important Decision.

In the United States Court of Indiana, the following important case came on for argument on the 19th ultimo. The points made I cut from an exchange paper. The decision of Judge McLean seems to me to be the correct one. I know not by what principle of law or justice the Western free States can be exempt from those requirements of the Constitution, or denied those privileges, which are binding upon, or guarantied to others. The quibble raised here is one of Liberty party's, and grows out of their wish to reconcile their duty to a pro-slavery Constitution, and the requirements of the moral law. The very raising of the question is an acknowledgment of the pro-slavery character of the compact:

1st. That Slavery is only a State or local institution; 2. That Slavery is based on local laws, not sustained or supported by either moral, natural, or national law; 3. That if a slave escapes from the State in which he is held in slavery, either by accident, consent of his master, or against that consent, he is forever free; 4. That the ordinance of 1787, organized in the Northwestern Territory, only guarantees the delivering of fugitives from labor, or citizens of the original States, and that as Missouri, (from whence the slaves escaped,) was not one of the original States, the citizens of Indiana were not bound to deliver up to Missouri her runaway slaves.

Judge McLean who presided, delivered the opinion of the Court. He admitted the correctness of the proposition, 1, 2, and 3, but overruled the demurrer, deciding that if Indiana had remained a territory, under the ordinance, she would not have been bound to deliver up the slaves; but, having adopted a Constitution, which in part abrogates the law of the ordinance, she is bound by the United States Constitution; and Mi souri, being one of the great family of States, is entitled to all the rights and privileges of the original States, from all other States in the Union.

Reserving the further discussion of this point on arrest of judgment, provided judgment should go for the plaintiff, the Court overruled the demurrer, and the cause was put at issue, and is now ready for trial on the merits.

The Pledges.

In to-day's paper will be found two Pledges, so printed that they can be cut from the paper and used for circulation. We wish the friends everywhere to understand that these are not printed to fill up our columns, nor do the Executive Committee mean that the movement contemplated shall be still-born. A systematic, combined, and earnest attempt is to be made in the different States, to procure signers to both Pledges. That on Disunion, will continue to be a chief instrumentality, like the Temperance Pledge, till it is no longer needed. The other is, of course, suited only to the present moment. All our energies should be for the next month bent to that. We have no room to say more this week, but details of a plan for agitation by Conventions, &c. will be given in the next paper. In the meantime, will the friends in the different towns hold meetings for consultation, take measures for circulating the pledges, and hold themselves in readiness for such measures as may seem in future advisable?

☞ Capt. Flowery, of the Spitfire, who was on trial all last week in Boston, for piracy in engaging in the Slave-Trade, has been found guilty. The jury recommended him to the mercy of the Court. He is to receive his sentence this week.

This Week's Paper.

FIRST PAGE.—*The Peculiar Institution:* Cruelty; New Orleans Picayune. *Pro-Slavery:* The New England Anti-Slavery Society; New-York Express. Massachusetts Abolition Society; do. *The Church:* The Methodist Church. The Presbyterian Church. The Southern Baptist Convention. Meeting of the Clergy of Massachusetts, to discuss American Slavery. *Selections:* New England Convention; Boston Times, and Boston Courier.

SECOND PAGE.—Republic of California. Official Report of the New England Convention. The Principle—the End—the Means.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry:* London Outcasts, by Mrs. Norton. A Lithographic sketch, from the Anti-Corn Law League. *Miscellany:* Warner Mifflin, from the French of H. St. John de Crevecoeur. Address, by Robert Owen, on leaving the United States, June 1st, 1845. The Reconciliation—a Prophecy by Punch. British Impressment of Americans, by E. Burritt.

☞ **Meeting to-night.** ☜

Will the friends in this city be punctual at the meeting to-night, at the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 142 Nassau street, up-stairs?

ERRATUM.—The extract in last week's poetical column from "Saul,—A Mystery," should have given the author's name as *Cox*, and not *Come*.

Obituary.

DIED.—In Boston, June 2d, at the house of his father-in-law, Francis Jackson, CHARLES D. MERRIAM, aged 31.

Never was a happier exemplification than this, of the solemn cheerfulness and tender resignation with which a good man welcomes death as the angel of deliverance; and thereby does, himself, become the angel of consolation to those who survive him. A stream of heavenly radiance seems to flow from the other life upon the friends that such a man leaves behind him in this.

There is a reason why they can sit together around his remains, and look for the last time upon his wasted but beautiful form, without an emotion of that bitter despair that makes men hide their faces from each others' eyes. The good son, the devoted husband and father, the pious soul, the true brother of mankind, has departed from our sight, but not from our hearts. The recollection of all his well-spent years, fills them with comfort and consolation, even in the midst of sorrow, that we shall see his face on earth no more.

The beautiful offering of his early youth to the cause of the American slave; the fidelity through every trial of his character during the trying period in which he lived; his patient endurance of suffering; his diligent fulfilment of duty; his calm arrangements of months previous to meet this debt of nature, as ordinary men provide for a note that is to fall due; the whole tenor of his good and irreproachable life, crowned with its holy and peaceful ending;—how many shall hold it all in everlasting remembrance!—how many in the quiet sanctuary of the social circle he graced, and in the ranks of Anti-Slavery conflict, where his steadfast support was always felt, shall continually thank God for the great benefit of such an example!

"Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his saints."—c.

In New Marlboro', Massachusetts, LORRIN WHITNEY, aged 53 years, having been confined to his bed more than 20 years.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

From the New Orleans Picayune, May 20.

Important from Mexico.

The Titi arrived yesterday, from Havana, which place she left on the 10th instant. We have received Havana files to the day of her departure. The only news of importance brought by the Titi, relates to Mexican affairs. The Thames arrived at Havana on the 6th from Vera Cruz, having left the Mexican port on the 1st instant. The intelligence brought by her is eight days later from Vera Cruz and nine days later from the city of Mexico. The papers we have seen assert that the Executive of Texas has re-opened negotiations with Mexico, in regard to the recognition of the independence of the former State. It would appear from these advices, that President Jones, with the help of the English and French embassies, has got the Mexican Government to entertain the negotiation, upon the understanding that Annexation should not take place. The following message, sent to Congress on the 21st ultimo, explains the views of the Government in regard to the Texas proposition. There is little or no room to doubt that the English minister has performed the part of go-between in the transaction, as neither of the contracting powers have diplomatic relations with the other.

Senor Cueva's message is to this effect:

GENTLEMEN,—The affairs of Texas being of such deep importance as to claim the first consideration of the Congress and Executive, the Government cannot, without assuming a special responsibility, defer the resolution that must be taken to bring them to an issue compatible with the honor and interest of the Republic. The Government having assembled a considerable body of troops upon that frontier, and applied all its resources to accomplish the proposed end, and having considered of these acts of the legislative bodies, sees no other course to pursue than to carry out the plan proposed to sustain the Republic in all the dignity due to its honor and good name. Circumstances have transpired which render it both necessary and proper to enter upon negotiations that will prevent the annexation of Texas to the United States, as such an event would inevitably lead to a war with the American Republic—for Mexico would not agree to Annexation—however deplorable such a conflict might be. Texas has taken the initiative in proposing a settlement, and his Excellency, the President *ad interim*, well understanding its importance and the necessity of taking a resolution in relation to it, is also persuaded that the Executive cannot proceed in the matter without being first authorized to do so by the Chambers; that in the case before him he should not exercise the powers conferred by the Constitution for conducting negotiations with foreign powers. The Government—always faithful to its duty, and desirous of submitting its acts to free discussion, and considering that national questions should be disposed of with patriotic spirit and a conscientiousness superior to assaults and above prejudices of every character—cannot decline the proffered negotiation without, in his opinion, violating his duty by deciding so delicate a question before submitting it to Congress. If he could make an arrangement, honorable in itself, and such as would satisfy the national honor, he would submit it with great pleasure to Congress; and if such could not be achieved, the same Government which is so desirous of a peace conformable to the dignity of the Republic, would be the first to decide in favor of a war, which would be more just after all efforts to avert it had failed. The preliminary propositions of Texas are of a character honorable and fair towards the Republic, and the Government without deciding upon them, had no doubt about accepting them as the initiative to the arrangement sought by Texas. Not to have accepted it, would have been to establish the Annexation of Texas to the United States, and Congress will perceive that a step so ill-advised would have been a terrible charge to the present Administration. To refuse to hear proposals of peace, that may lead to a satisfactory result, would have been an extreme measure, the least profitable to the Republic, however it might at first flatter a justly irritated patriotism; but this is not what the nation expects from its Supreme Government, which is obliged to foresee and weigh the evils of a long and costly war, and to avoid them as long as its honor can be maintained, as in the present case. If the Government had acted solely upon its impulses, as soon as the law of Annexation passed by the Congress of the United States, the Chambers well know what its conduct would have been, and what its firmness in resisting all other propositions than war, which the patriotism of all Mexicans would have sustained with glory. His Excellency, the President *ad interim*, as well as his ministers, make a great sacrifice in asking the authorization at the end of this message; but it is made upon mature deliberation, and from an ardent desire for the prosperity of the Republic, and with the conviction that if war should ensue after making every effort to preserve peace, it will end in the glory of the national arms, and in accordance with public justice as regards those who provoke it. Therefore, his Excellency, the President *ad interim*, in ministerial council, and with the unanimous advice of his Cabinet, has directed me to present for your deliberation the following resolution: "The Government is authorized to receive the propositions made by Texas, and to proceed to the formation of a treaty that it deems honorable to the Republic; to be laid before Congress for its examination and approbation."

With the highest consideration, &c.

LUIS G. CUEVAS.

GOD AND LIBERTY.

MEXICO, April 21st, 1845.

It would seem that the Mexican Government, notwithstanding the above letter, is desirous to prepare for war, and has asked Congress for a loan of $3,000,000.

On the 16th of April Congress passed a resolution allowing Santa Anna and Canalizo to expatriate themselves within eight days, for ten years. If they refuse, prosecutions against them are to be urged forward.

The earthquakes in the city of Mexico had ceased. From the Departments accounts continue to arrive of the devastation caused by those of the 7th and 10th ultimo.

Two projects are before Congress, growing out of the Executive message signed by Cuevas.

The first considers that the law of Congress of the United States in no respect impairs the right of Mexico over Texas; that it has violated the treaties between the two countries, especially that in relation to boundaries; and that Mexico ought to arm herself and repel the threatened usurpation by force.

The other project calls all Mexicans to arms, and authorizes the Government to arm the permanent and active militia, and gives the administrative power the necessary means from all sources.

From the New Orleans Bee, May 20.

The Mexican Government, in the event of a failure of the proposed negotiations, is preparing for war. The authority of Congress has been required, in order to contract a loan of three millions of dollars, at an interest not greater than fifteen per cent. Authority has likewise been asked for the settlement of the foreign debt of Mexico.

Various projects have been submitted to Congress for a general amnesty of the military chiefs, against whom prosecution has been commenced; and some have proposed that the amnesty should be extended to all the political criminals, with the restriction that Santa Anna and Canalizo, and the four ministers who signed the decree of the 28th November, should quit the country for ten years, or submit to the continuation of their trial. The latter proposition, slightly modified, was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, on the 16th. Santa Anna, Canalizo, and the four ministers are allowed eight days to determine whether they will choose an expatriation of ten years, or the continuation of their trials. Breaches of trust in pecuniary matters form an exception to this general pardon, and Santa Anna's abdication of the Presidency is accepted.

Gen Almonte had arrived in the city of Mexico.

From the New Orleans Picayune, May 21.

More Important News from Mexico.

The Mexican schooner Relampagos, Captain Talduondo, arrived here yesterday from Vera Cruz, which place she left on the 10th instant.

She is said to have been chartered by the Mexican Government for the purpose of bringing despatches to her Consul at this city. A Mr. Frederick Johnson came passenger in the Relampagos, and is thought to be the bearer of despatches from the British Minister in Mexico, either to the United States Government or the English Minister at Washington.

Owing to these facts, and a certain mystery in the movements of this vessel, her bringing over but a single package of paper, and no letters for the post office, a rumor obtained general currency in this city, shortly after her arrival, that Mexico had actually declared war against the United States. The probabilities are all against the credibility of this report, as the Relampagos left Vera Cruz on the 10th, and certainly advices of the fact would have reached the United States before this time, had a declaration of war been made before that date. A portion of the United States Gulf Squadron, consisting of the frigate Potomac, the sloop of war Falmouth, and the brigs Lawrence and Somers, have been anchored at Isla Verda, immediately off Vera Cruz, for some weeks, and we should have heard of them ere now, had war been decided upon anterior to the sailing of the Relampagos.

It is understood that the authority asked of Congress by the Mexican Executive, to treat with Texas in the spirit of Senor Cuevas's communication, which we published yesterday in full, has been granted, and there appears to be no doubt that the recognition of the independence of Texas is a settled matter, upon condition that she declines to be annexed to the United States.

Reports state that Santa Anna has been, or is to be liberated. It has been months since we ventured the opinion, upon what we considered good authority, that the fallen Dictator would come off scathless from the perils that menaced him.

Rumors of revolution in various portions of the Mexican Empire are rife—upon what authority we cannot speak—one of these implicate California in an insurrectionary movement.

Upon a more reliable authority than mere rumor, we may state that his Excellency Senor Juan de Dios Canalo passed through Vera Cruz about the first of the month upon a mission, as we said, from the Government of Mexico to that of the United States. This circumstance, taken in connection with the negotiation then pending with Texas, and the secrecy with which the object of his mission was kept from the public, caused no little commotion in that city. One of the journals, apparently more favorable to war than peace, in remarking upon this mission, exclaims:—"Everything, it appears, has been confided to diplomacy—the hands of strangers are thrust into this business—How shall we liquidate?—What will become of the country?—The storm is raging over our heads—the thunder reverberates above us!"

We have been permited to publish an extract from a letter written at Vera Cruz, on the 8th day of May, the purport of which took us so completely aback, that were it not for the respectable source from which it comes, one would pay little heed to it indeed. The letter is from an individual whose word might challenge the belief of every man in the country—not to say of the Government itself—and yet the announcement we make upon its authority will startle all our readers. The extract is in these words—we transcribe them literally:

"Elliott and the Texan Commissioners are about leaving this (Vera Cruz) in an English frigate for Galveston, with the treaty acknowledging the independence of Texas. But they little dream of their reception at Galveston. These people, (the Mexicans,) think that the acknowledgment of Texan independence will prevent Annexation, and thereby they will get clear of declaring war, as they had threatened. They swear, however, that if Texas prefers Annexation to acknowledgment, they will declare war."

What will astonish the American people in this extract, is the intelligence that Elliott is in Vera Cruz, and that the President of Texas has recently sent Commissioners to Mexico under the patronage of England, to treat for recognition upon the basis alluded to in Senor Cuevas's letter to Congress? Can these things be possible? Can it be that Capt. Elliott, who left Galveston with the avowed purpose of going to Charleston, S. C. has sneaked off to Mexico to get a sly advantage in a negotiation which the people will baffle, should every sceptre in Europe be raised in menace over them? Can it be true that President Jones, in the circumstances which now surround him, has had the temerity to despatch secret agents to Mexico, to form a treaty in which the people of Texas are to be sacrificed? We have seen so much duplicity and double dealing in this whole affair, and heard so much official mendacity in regard to the purposes of men unfortunately in high places at so momentous a crisis, that we are prepared to believe that some of the actors in the busy scene before us, are capable of doing anything, however low, asserting anything, however false; but we confess that these two little items in a letter from a high source, excited our amazement. Yet here are the words before us, in black and white, and signed by an honorable and well known name; and one of the British vessesl, (the Eurydice,) composing the armed express kept up between Galveston and Vera Cruz, was at Sacrificios, an anchorage adjacent to Vera Cruz, ready to translate minister, commissioners and treaty to Galveston. Perhaps some of the conspirators against the popular will may repent them, when too late, of their pertinacity in this miserable and corrupt proceeeding.

Besides the American squadron and the Eurydice, the two French vessels heretofore mentioned as being at Vera Cruz, were yet in the harbor or in the offing. Both of the war steamers, three brigs of war, and several smaller armed vessels belonging to Mexico, were in port.

From the New Orleans Picayune, May 25th.

Later from Texas.

The steamship New-York, Capt. Wright, arrived in our port last evening, in thirty-three hours from Galveston. She brought over sixty passengers, amongst whom were Gen. Sam Houston, ex-President of Texas, and family, who, it is said, are *en route* for the Hermitage.

The United States squadron, under the command of Commodore R. F. Stockton, consisting of the steam frigate Princeton, Lieut. Com'g. E. R. Thompson, ship St. Mary's, Capt. Saunders, ship Saratoga, Capt. Shubrick, and the brig Porpoise, Lieut. Com'dt. W. E. Hunt, have arrived and anchored off Galveston.

The most important intelligence from the Republic is contained in the following proclamation of President Jones, from which it would *seem* that the Executive is cutting his wisdom teeth at last—we use the word *seem* to denote that the doubt which the previous course of President Jones has created, has not been removed from our mind; nor should any one relapse into a state of security and confidence until "it is finished."

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS.
A Proclamation.

Whereas, the people of Texas have evinced a decided wish that prompt and definite action should be had upon the proposition for Annexation, recently submitted by the Government of the United States to this Government, and that a Convention should be assembled for this purposed; and

Whereas, it is competent for the people alone to decide finally upon the proposition for Annexation, and "by deputies in Convention assembled," to adopt a Constitution with a view to the admission of Texas as one of the States of the American Union; and

Whereas, no authority is given by the Constitution of this Republic, to any branch of the Government, to call a Convention and to change the organic law—this being a right reserved to the people themselves, and which they alone can properly exercise:

THEREFORE, be it known, that I, ANSON JONES, President of the Republic of Texas, desirous of giving direction and effect to the public will, already so fully expressed, do recommend to the citizens of Texas, that an election for "Deputies" to a Convention to be held in the different counties of the Republic, on Wednesday, the fourth day of June next, upon the following basis, viz: Each county in the Republic to elect one Deputy, irrespective of the number of voters it contained at the last annual election. Each county voting at that time three hundred, and less than six hundred, to elect two Deputies. Each county voting at that time six hundred, and less than nine hundred, to elect three Deputies; and each county voting at that time nine hundred and upwards, to elect four Deputies: which basis will give to the county of Austin, two; Bastrop, one; Bexar, two; Brazoria, two; Brazos, one; Bowie, one; Colorado, one; Fayette, two; Fannin, two; Fort Bend, one; Goliad, one; Galveston, two; Gonzales, one; Harris, three; Harrison, three; Houston, two; Jackson, one; Jasper, one; Jefferson, one; Lamar, two; Liberty, two; Matagorda, one; Montgomery, four; Milam, one; Nacogdoches, three; Red River, three; Robertson, two; Rusk, one; Rufugio, one; Sabine, one; San Augustine, two; Shelby, two; San Patricio, one; Travis, one; Victoria, one; and Washington, three Deputies; and that the said Deputies so elected, do assemble in Convention at the city of Austin, on the "Fourth of July" next, for the purpose of considering the proposition for the Annexation of Texas to the United States, and any other proposition which may be made concerning the nationality of the Republic; and should they judge it expedient and proper to adopt, provisionally, a Constitution to be submitted to the people for their ratification, with a view to the admission of Texas, as a State, into the American Union, in accordance with the terms of the proposition for Annexation already submitted to this Government by that of the United States. And the Chief Justices of the respective counties aforesaid will give due notice of the said elections, appoint a presiding officer in the several precincts, who will appoint the judges and clerks of said elections, and have the same conducted according to the Constitution and laws regulating elections, and make due return thereof.

In testimony wherof I have caused the Great Seal of the Republic to be hereunto affixed.

Done at Washington, this fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty five, and of the independence of the Republic the tenth.

[L. S.]

By the President, ANSON JONES.

EBENEZER ALLEN, Attorney General, and acting Secretary of State.

The Fourth of July—the day upon which this Convention is to assemble—is not one upon which the interests of America ought to suffer, and hence we attribute to the President more sincerity in his sudden conversion than we should otherwise do;—but of this anon.

We see no mention made of the arrival of Capt. Elliott at Galveston.

The McKim had not reached Galveston when the New-York left.

The people of Galveston gave the officers of the American squadron a ball last week, which was a brilliant and joyous affair.

The New-York brought a large mail from the interior, but owing to the lateness of the hour at which she arrived, we were not able to get a letter from beyond Galveston. From those received from that place we have given the above summary.

NOTICES.

ABOLITIONISTS OF RHODE ISLAND.

DEAR FRIENDS,—*The Annual Fair of the Providence Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, will be held in this city on the *first Wednesday* (Commencement Day) of September, 1845.

On behalf of this Fair, we would address not only the friends of Freedom in Rhode Island, but the enemies of Slavery everywhere. "Our Country is the world—our countrymen are all mankind." We are endeavoring to overcome, not only our foes, but the foe of universal freedom and of all freemen. The *spirit* of Slavery recognizes, not geographical limits, neither should the saving spirit of freedom. The friends of *Slavery* make common cause. They pour out their sympathy to each other in overwhelming currents. Why should localities throw the cramping cords of restraint around the *energies*, and the blasting influences of non-co-operation, about the *fellowship* of the truly free?

The recent startling and bloody aggressions of the slave spirit in threatening, imprisoning, branding, shooting, and murdering those of our brethren who dare feel, speak, and act for the bondman as bound with him; who dare think that mercy is *not* a crime, call for strengthened and more powerful, nay, unwearied exertions—more self-denial—personal sacrifice on our part, that we may bid the monster back to the hellish place of its birth. As a nation, we are on the verge of ruin. The prisons, the bloody defiance of the oppressor—the cry of our murdered brother's blood, from every mountain and valley—plain and swamp, of the South;—the shriek of the captured fugitive, as he is hurled back to bondage by slavery's northern "hell dogs;"—all these and more, proclaim to us that inaction *is treason*, and silence, *crime*.

Come and help us. Help us expel from the world a monster spirit that gluts upon the liberties and lives of God's free men. Be not penurious—"As ye would that others should do to you, do ye even so to them." Your own bodies are imprisoned—the fetters are on your limbs—the iron in your soul—inasmuch as this is your brother's fate.

Give us of your substance—no matter of what name, kind or nature it may be—everything—anything will be valuable. Almost *every* person has *something* that may be devoted to this purpose. Will you not hunt it up? Do it for humanity's sake—for your own sake.

All contributions, or communications for information or otherwise, may be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office, corner of Broad and Doranee Streets, care of Amaraney Paine.

S. R. Harris, *Hannah B. Shove.*
Mary R. Clarke, *Lucretia Francis,*
Abby Thurber, *Olive Tuber,*
Sarah B. R. Foster, *Abby A. Lake,*
Caroline Ashley, *Abby Burgess,*
Sarah R. Smith, *Mary Smith,*
Elizabeth H. Brown, *Amaraney Paine.*

PROVIDENCE, May 10th, 1845.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Are you ready, dear friends, to commence with us preparations for the Pennsylvania Fair of 1845? Warm hearts and active hands we would enlist, at this early period, that no time may be lost which might be profitably spent in this service. Information respecting what is to be done, it can scarcely be necessary to offer to those who, year by year, have been laboring side by side with us in this department of Anti-Slavery toil, and whose skill and ingenuity have been again and again proved. We want whatever liberal souls will devise, and ready hands execute. The Committee commence their efforts this year with the hope of making the Fair superior to those of preceding years, but this hope cannot, of course, be realized, without your diligent and hearty co-operation. On this we rely. Need we urge upon you motives to action? The slave has found no respite from his sufferings shall we seek respite from our labors in his behalf? Trusting that you are as ready for this work as ourselves, we suggest that you should immediately begin to inquire what you can give or do for this purpose, and how you can best enlist the services of your friends and neighbors. Will some active friends of the cause take measures for forming sewing circles in their neighborhoods, where articles may be manufactured, donations deposited, and interest excited for the Fair? From such a measure, much benefit, beside pecuniary emolument, results to the Anti-Slavery cause. Will not the friends of the cause in Chester, Bucks, and other counties, adopt this plan, and furnish tables, to be superintended by themselves at the Fair? And will not those who cannot conveniently unite with these circles, be diligent and faithful in individual effort? Of all the friends of the slave in city and country, we ask aid. Of the merchant, we ask contributions of merchandise, of the mechanic, the fruit of his handiwork; of the farmer, the produce of his garden, fields, and poultry-yard. But we ask of all *only* the products of *free* and *requited* labor.

Let us, dear friends, commence our efforts with a determination that our next Fair shall yield great and good results to our cause, and *it will do so.*

Contributions may be sent to any member of the Committee, or to J. M. McKim, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

Emma Parker, *Anna M. Hopper,*
Mary Grew, *Maria M. Davis,*
Sarah M. McKim, *Sarah Pugh,*
Hester Reckless, *Martha Carman,*
Lydia Gillingham, *Sarah Douglass,*
Gertrude K. Burleigh, *Sarah Lewis,*
Elizabeth J. Neall, *Margaret Jones,*
Olive Bacon, *Emily A. Winslow,*
Susan Grew, *Margaret Griscom,*
Hannah L. Stickney, *Teresa K. Hallowell,*
Mary T. Stickney.

BARGAIN EXTRAORDINARY!

THE "*Amity Mill*" property, near Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, is now, owing to *an absolute necessity*, on the part of the owners, *to make sale*, offered *at more than fifty per cent. below its cash value.* The property consists of an *excellent farm* of one hundred and sixty acres, with good buildings. One hundred and twenty acres of the land, cleared and in a good state of cultivation. The mill is one of considerable note, and its flour is in good repute at the East. This building is nearly new, and is not surpassed in execution and convenience by any flouring mill in the State. It is five stories high, has three run of Burrs, two of these have ground and manufactured in twenty-four hours, *one hundred barrels of flour.* The water-wheel is secured from all obstacles by ice. Space will not admit of a full description of the building. Its conveniences of conveying wheat from one story to another, its various apartments, the completeness of its machinery, &c. &c. must be seen to be understood, or their value appreciated. The supply of water is ample, except at times of the greatest drought. The building alone, cost at least, *ten thousand* dollars. Adjacent to the mill are, an *oil mill*, thirty feet by thirty-four feet, four stories; a good dwelling, twenty-two feet by thirty-two feet, two stories

Poetry.

LONDON OUTCASTS.

BY MRS. NORTON.

Betwixt the deathly stream and Tyburn Gate
Stand withered trees, whose sapless boughs have seen
Beauties whose memory now is out of date,
And lovers on whose grave the moss is green!
While Spring, forever fresh, with smile serene,
Woke up gray Time, and drest his scythe with flowers,
And flashed sweet light the tender leaves between,
And bid the wild bird carol in the bowers,
Year after year the same, with glad returning hours.

Oh, those old trees! what see they when the beam
Falls on blue waters from the bluer sky?
When young Hope whispers low, with smiles that seem
Too joyous to be answered with a sigh?
The scene is then of prosperous gayety—
Thick-swarming crowds on summer pleasures bent,
And equipages formed for luxury;
While rosy children, young and innocent,
Dance in the onward path, and frolic with content.

But when the scattered leaves on those wan boughs
Quiver beneath the night-wind's rustling breath,
When jocund merriment, and whispered vows,
And children's shouts, are hush'd, and still as death,
Lies all in heaven above and earth beneath;
When clear and distant shine the steadfast stars,
O'er lake and river, mountain, brake, and heath,
And smile, unconscious of the wo that mars
The beauty of earth's face, deform'd by Misery's scathe.

What see the old trees THEN? Gaunt, pallid forms,
Come creeping sadly to their hollow hearts,
Seeking frail shelter from the winds and storms,
In broken rest, disturb'd by fitful starts;
There, when the chill rain falls, or lightning darts,
Or balmy summer-nights are stealing on,
Houseless they slumber, close to wealthy marts
And gilded homes: there, where the morning sun
That tide of wasteful joy and splendor looked upon.

There the man hides whose better days are dropp'd
Round his starvation, like a veil of shame;
Who, till the fluttering pulse of life hath stopp'd,
Suffers in silence, and conceals his name:
There the lost victim on whose tarnish'd fame
A double taint of Death and Sin must rest,
Dreams of her village home and parents' blame,
And in her sleep, by pain and cold opprest,
Draws close her tatter'd shawl athwart her shivering breast.

Her history is written in her face:
The bloom hath left her cheek, but not from age;
Youth, without innocence, or love, or grace,
Blotted with tears, still lingers on that page;
Smooth brow, soft hair, dark eyelash, seem to wage
With furrowed lines a contradiction strong;
Till the wild witchcraft stories, which engage
Our childish thoughts, of magic change and wrong,
Seem realized in her—so old, and yet so young!

And many a wretch forlorn, and huddled group
Of strangers met in brotherhood of wo,
Heads that beneath their burden weakly stoop,
Youth's tangled curls, and Age's locks of snow,
Rest on those wooden pillows, till the glow
Of morning o'er the brightening earth shall pass;
And these depart, none asking where they go;
Lost in the World's confused and gathering mass,
While a new slide fills up Life's magic-lantern glass.

From the Anti-Corn-Law League.

A LITHOGRAPHIC SKETCH.

'Tis a cold and gloomy winter's day,
Heavy and damp with fog;
And a squalid wretch on the pavement way
Is crouching down like a dog:—
Like a poor and famished dog that, now,
Neither cart nor truck may draw,
That squalid wretch with care-worn brow,
Puts forth his skeleton paw.

On the surface flat of the pavement stone—
Cleansed with his ragged cuff—
He chalks, he chalks, with moan and with groan,
Sketching his work in the rough,
Chalking—chalking—chalking away,
Characters fair, in coloring gay;
A record of misery, talent, and want,
With hungry belly and fingers gaunt.

Passengers hurry, hurry along,
With sorrowful hearts, or gay;
Rich and poor—a motley throng—
Pass over the pavement way;
But none, save the needy, slacken their speed
To gaze on the writing there;
None, but the wretched, can tarry, to read
That famished wretch's prayer.

He has chalked and chalked all his chalk away,
Making the very pavement pray;
And shown us how stones may come out in print,
To soften with pity *men's hearts of flint*.
Mockery!—cruel mockery all!
In a land of mocking and groans,
Where the pamper'd steed feeds high in the stall,
While *Christians starve on the stones!*

One word!—only *one*—appears on the stone,
In characters bold and fair;
But oh! *that* word is of skin and of bone!—
"*Starving*" is written there.
Starving, in flourishes chalked on the ground,
Starving in colors so gay,
Like the rich who can revel in luxury round
Our famishing forms of clay.

Starving—starving—starving!
With maddening hunger and cold,
While the holy Bishop is carving
His viands on dishes of gold!
Oh, the shivering wretch may hide his head,
And his eye so hollow and dim,
For life to the fat church livings has fled,
And *Death* may grapple with him.

Oh, land of mockery, wealth and wo,
A land of riches and rags,
Where the alien rides in pomp and show,
And the *native* starves on the flags!
Mockery—mockery—mockery all!
A land of mocking and groans,
Where the pamper'd steed feeds high in the stall,
While *Christians starve on the stones!*

Q.

A CHURCH.

A band of faithful men
Met for God's worship in an upper room,
Or canopied by midnight's starry dome,
On hill-side or lone glen,
To hear the counsels of his holy word,
Pledged to each other and their common Lord.

These, few as they may be,
Compose a church, such as, in pristine age,
Defied the tyrant's zeal, the bigot's rage,—
For where but two or three,
Whatever place, in faith's communion meet,
There, with Christ's presence is a Church complete.

"It is an act of virtue and of piety
To warn men of their sins in any sort,
In prose, in verse, in earnest, or in sport."

Miscellany.

WARNER MIFFLIN.

The following anecdotes of Warner Mifflin, are translated from a letter of H. St. John de Crevecoeur, written in the year 1782:

The great military discipline of the British army gained the battle of Brandywine, and opened the way for General Howe to enter Philadelphia.

His march from the Head of Elk, as well as his occupation of the city, was attended with the burning of dwellings, the spoiling of goods, and the ruin of a great number of families. Those who lived at a distance from the theatre of war, opened their houses to the sufferers. In the meantime, the members of the Society of Friends, who lived in the counties of Kent, New Castle, and Sussex, pursued their usual course.

Their meeting for sufferings, whose duty it is, to collect the contributions of the members for the relief of the poor and the afflicted, were forcibly struck with the horrors of war, which they had never before seen among them. The benevolent among them increased their subscriptions, but notwithstanding the abundance of the supplies, they were soon exhausted by the great number of the sufferers. They sent to the most needy such supplies as they could, and shed tears for those whom they could not relieve. Many of the elderly Friends took their carriages, and during whole weeks, did not cease to go from one plantation to another, collecting bacon, flour, and such other provisions as the charity of the colonists bestowed. It was astonishing to see the amount of money, and the quantity of clothing and other useful articles which were thus collected in neighborhoods already half destroyed by the rapacity of the enemy.

While thus employed, they were "*concerned*," (to use their own expression,) to send a deputation from their body to the English General, in order to endeavor to induce him to establish greater discipline in his army, and a suspension of arms, at least during the winter. Warner Mifflin was named: the difficulties and even dangers of the enterprise caused him to accept with joy the commission they offered to him: for whoever refuses the performance of a good action when it becomes his duty, covers himself with the reproach of pusillanimity before men, and of criminality in the eyes of God. You imagine, perhaps, that he received papers from the American General, authorizing him to ask for a parley. No, my young friend, these precautions would, in the eyes of the Friends, betray a distrust of the good cause, and would make them in some measure, participants in the crime of war. He only took with him two letters, which informed their friends in Philadelphia, of the conclusion of the meeting of Friends in the counties of Kent, New Castle, and Sussex, and of the choice they had made of Warner Mifflin.

There was in the American army a General by the name of Mifflin, (Major General Thomas Mifflin,) who, before the war, had been a member of the Society, but after having made use of his eloquence to animate his fellow-citizens, he had been obliged to suspend the force of his religious sentiments, in order to take up arms and avenge his country. When he arrived at the outposts of the English, Warner Mifflin was seized and brought before the officer who commanded it.

"Who are you, and where are you going?" were the questions they asked him.

"My name is Warner Mifflin, and I am going to Philadelphia."

"Mifflin, Mifflin," said the officer, "it seems to me there is a certain Thomas Mifflin, who is a pretended General in the rebel army, is he not your kinsman?"

"Yes, friend, he is my cousin-germain: does that appear to thee to be a crime?"

"How dare you call me friend, you arrant rebel. Soldiers, take this hypocrite to the guard-house until we can take him to the Provost marshal, to be hung in his turn. You will there see a great number of rebels, who under the garb of Quaker humility and simplicity, have endeavored to glide into the British lines and act as spies."

"Although thou sayest it, I am not a spy;—perhaps I may be allowed to prove it."

"Prove it!" said the captain, "do not calculate upon that—the course with a rebel like you is soon taken,—a rope—a knot—a branch of a tree, and two brave soldiers to hoist him up, is all that is necessary."

"Why, my friend, wouldst thou insult a man who is a stranger to thee? Why accuse him of a crime of which thou art not sure? Why menace him with a punishment he does not deserve? Am I not thy brother?"

"You my brother!—God preserve me from such an alliance. I am your enemy,—that's what I am,—and if I live, you and your people shall see it. Now that the king has withdrawn from you the mantle of his protection, and has declared you rebels—you and your wives and children, deserve to be hung. Yes, you deserve it under the proclamation of George III."

"Thy king, then, is very cruel," replied Warner Mifflin, "thus to condemn to death so many persons who never injured him!"

"Our king is the most just and magnanimous of all the sovereigns upon earth; he wishes to purge this country of that republican taint which has descended from old Oliver, in order to repeople it with a community who will always be faithful."

"Of what people dost thou speak?" asked Warner Mifflin.

"Of the brave Scotch," replied the officer.

"Tell me, then, brave Scotchman, do thy countrymen come here to cut our throats under the banners of your king, with the design of occupying the houses, cultivating the fields, and mowing the meadows which we have so dearly purchased with our labor and our sweat?"

"And why not, Mister American? You are the Canaanites who are cursed of God, and we are the favored race."

"Ah! my friend, the Jews have done many things which it would not be well to imitate."

"Soldiers, lead this man to the guard-house, he talks too much; put handcuffs on him—do you hear? This will, no doubt, be the first pair of ruffles the Quaker ever wore."

After having been the object of the raillery and insolence of all the soldiers, he was next day at noon conducted before the Provost marshal, but as they had found in searching him two letters addressed to persons suspected of being Whigs, he was put in a dark dungeon, and the letters were sent to the General's quarters. There they were forgotten for a long time; for the most ridiculous pleasures, the most luxurious living, and the most excessive debauches, so completely occupied the leisure of the British officers, that they scarcely had time to attend to their daily business. Seventeen days afterwards, these letters, by the merest chance, fell into the hands of Sir William Howe. He thought he saw something very mysterious in their contents. This idea overcome for a while his indolence, and he ordered that they should bring before him the prisoner in whose pockets the letters had been found. He was conducted to the apartment of the General, having his hat on his head. Sir William Howe, a little surprised at this unusual form, asked him if his name was Warner Mifflin.

"Yes, friend Howe, that is my name."

"Where do you come from?"

"From the Provost marshal."

"Where did you come from when they took you before him?"

"From the county of Kent?"

"Why have you come here?"

"In order to speak to thee."

At this moment Colonel Belfour, the first aid-de-camp, observing that this man had the boldness to remain covered before his master, and being full of military prejudices, advanced hastily to the Quaker, and taking off his hat, said in an angry manner:—"You rustic peasant! I would have you to know, that no man approaches the Commander-in-Chief of the British army with his head covered, and still less should a rebel and a prisoner like you."

"How should I know your customs," said Warner Mifflin, "I who have never seen a British General, and who have all my life spoken with my hat on to my friends and neighbors? This hat which has offended thee so much, is only a part of my dress;—shall I take my great coat off too?"

"Colonel Belfour, suspend your reprimand," said the General,—"Mr. Mifflin, do persons of your Society keep their hats always on their heads from a scruple of conscience?"

"No, friend Howe, it is the custom of our Society; we look upon all men as brothers, and are taught to believe that we owe them nothing but sincere goodwill, which we express by a shake of the hand, without any marks of reverence."

"You surprise me very much, Mr. Mifflin; I thought you were so attached to this custom, that I concluded it was founded on motives of conscience."

"It is not, friend Howe; but tell me, hast thou been offended that I have spoken to thee with my head covered? It was not my intention; I came before thee as we appear before our brethren, and we present ourselves before God, when we go to our meetings to implore his mercy, and wait for the influence of his Spirit.* Can the treatment which I have received from thy aid-de-camp add to thy honor, or dignity?"

"My aid-de-camp thought he was doing right, Mr. Mifflin, but your having your hat on or off, is a matter of entire indifference to me; all I require is, that you give clear and direct answers to my questions."

Warner Mifflin, putting his hat on again with much composure, replied, that he might confer upon the truth in all he should say, and that his questions would give him pleasure, inasmuch as they would afford him an opportunity of communicating the reasons which obliged him to come to Philadelphia in order to converse with him.

"To converse with me? who are you then; and by whom are you sent?"

"I am from the county of Kent, and am sent by the meeting of Friends of the three lower counties."

"What! a farmer sent by the Quaker churches? Ah! Sir, the farmers of these counties and their churches have chosen a bad time, for I am obliged to be their enemy! What do your meetings want, and what are your own wishes?"

"As thou art an Englishman, thou art probably aware that the Society of Friends take no part in wars, nor in any contention either public or private. Quarreling is forbidden by the Gospel, which enjoins that we should regard all men as our brethren; but in recommending peace and brotherly-love, it also requires that we should do all in our power to prevent and to avoid evil. Our brethren of the three counties convened in our meeting for sufferings, have believed it might be possible to procure an interview between thee and General Washington, and that the consequences of the interview might be to bring about a suspension of arms, at least during the winter; and that this suspension might result in a good understanding and a restoration of peace. Persuaded that this design is pure and salutary, and in obedience to the Holy Spirit from whom all good thoughts proceed, as well as all the good that we do,—they have sent me to communicate it to thee. What is thy opinion of it friend Howe?"

"I approve of your design,—it appears to me to be noble, and it may be useful; whether it succeeds or not, it will do you honor in my opinion, and will serve to confirm the good opinion which I have always had of your sect. I love to see those who do not take part in war, endeavoring to abate its horrors, and seeking for means to re-establish peace. But things are not equal between General Washington and me. In four days he can receive orders from Congress,—whereas it takes many months for me to receive those of the king. Nevertheless, if we can see each other, I would willingly accept a short suspension, which will give our troops time to refresh themselves with a little repose. I see by the tenor of your letters, that you have hidden nothing from me, and that they were only written to inform your friends of the resolution of your churches, and of your generous enterprise. Stay and dine with me; after dinner I will expedite the papers necessary for your journey."

"I will dine with thee, as thou desirest it, but I cannot accept thy passports."

"Why not, Mr. Mifflin?"

"Because we should become implicated in the crimes which war occasions, if we were to arm ourselves with passports and military safeguards; I can go out of thy lines the same way that I came in. I feel assured that the good work in which I am engaged, will conduct me through, and supply me with fortitude to support any accidents that may befall me."

What singular principles!—what!—you prefer exposing yourself to the insults of soldiers, to prison and contempt, rather than take papers to protect you? These principles are not well founded, Mr. Mifflin, they are contrary to nature, and to that internal sentiment which commands us to take care of ourselves."

"I am sorry thou dost not approve of them, friend Howe, but they are nevertheless the basis on which the very existence of our Society depends; we have more than once sealed them with our blood; we have maintained them during times of the severest persecution; and if thou canst not approve them,—at least do not condemn them, for they are founded on the desire of doing good, on the love of peace and concord, and on the horror which we have of war, the greatest of all evils."

"But if some disaster should happen to you, what would you do, Mr. Mifflin?"

"I hope I should bear it with tranquillity and courage."

"Tranquillity and courage!—Where would you find them?"

"In my conscience, and in the full assurance that no temporal obstacle ought to hinder me from doing good."

"And if I should place soldiers at the door of one of your churches, with orders not to let you enter on pain of being hung, what would you do?"

"If I believed that the Divine Spirit required me to go in, it would then be my duty not to resist the inspiration; I would go at the peril of my life."

"Then you Quakers think yourselves immediately inspired?"

"Why not, friend Howe? Thou art thyself, every time that a good thought is presented to thy mind. What absurdity is there in thinking that good thoughts come from Heaven, the only source of goodness? What evil can arise from believing that the good is susceptible of receiving a feeble ray of that glorious light which illuminates every eye that is not voluntarily closed against it? This, friend Howe, is not a new principle; I can prove its truth from the writings of St. Paul, and also from the works of Marcus Antonius, Epictetus, and many other great men."

"You appear to be a learned man, Mr. Mifflin; I am not surprised that your churches have made choice of a man like you."

"I am far from being learned, I have only the science of good sense, the instructions of our schools, and the fruits of experience."

"Your principles," said the British General, "may be useful in the shades of your orchards, in the bosom of tranquillity and peace; but I cannot help considering them as useless and even dangerous in a community which can only sustain itself by a continual effort, that is to say by fleets and armies."

"I am not come here, friend Howe," said Mr. Mifflin, "to dispute with thee, nor to change thy opinion; as to mine, it is the most sacred, the most indelible of all those which compose my moral character. As thou hast accepted the proposition which I have made, I will retire and continue my journey."

"No, Mr. Mifflin, you must dine with me, and you will be respected at my table as you deserve. I am told that you have emancipated all your negroes;—is it true?"

"I have done no more than my duty."

"But this must have cost you a great deal?"

"I have still a sufficiency left, and am content?"

"They tell me, besides, that you have given the wool from five hundred sheep to those who have lost theirs by the English troops."

"As all men are equals, why should not those who are the most affluent divide their riches with others whom war has ruined? There is more true enjoyment in doing good than is generally believed."

"By what chance did you save your sheep?"

"By means of an island which I own. I hid them in the woods of the island when thy brother came up the river with his fleet."

"I esteem you very highly Mr. Mifflin, and these two generous actions would make me your friend for life, if we were neighbors and at peace. Would to God that all Americans were like you."

"Friend William, that would perhaps be an evil for Great Britain."

"Why so, Mr. Mifflin?"

"She would too easily execute the designs she has against North America; for thou knowest we cannot oppose the powers of the world; but although we submit to the Governments of the earth we do not the less earnestly desire that the laws should be wise, just, and mild."

"But do you not know, Mr. Mifflin, that Great Britain wishes only your good."

"I doubt it, for she endeavors to execute here, that which she has never been willing for her monarch to do at home."

"You are a Whig, then, Mr. Mifflin?"

"Friend Howe, thou art master, and canst call me what thou wilt. But what wouldst thou have me to be? Being born a citizen of Pennsylvania, wilt thou impute it to me for a crime, that I love my country?"

"No, no, I will not make it a crime in you. My business, however, is not to preach nor to convert, but to subdue?"

"As this is unhappily thy duty and thy inclination, in the name of humanity mingle with thy conquest as much mildness as possible,—that thy soldiers, restrained by the laws of military discipline, may no longer be allowed to pillage and destroy as they have done,—clemency would confer honor upon thy arms, and perhaps would aid thee to conquer. If thou art not an American, canst thou forget that thou art an Englishman? Thou knowest that this name signifies the partisan of equitable and necessary liberty."

"Do you not know, Mr. Mifflin, that there are among us military men, two distinct characters under the appearance of one individual? As an English citizen I acknowledge that Parliament has pushed matters too far. As a military man, my honor is engaged, I must execute the orders of the king in the best manner I possibly can."

"This avowal surprises me exceedingly, friend Howe. How can a man have two characters? How can his mind be divided, and cause his hands to do that which is repugnant to his heart?"

"It is nevertheless so, Mr. Mifflin:—it is a problem which you tranquil farmers can never comprehend. However, I know many members of your society, who do not think as you do."

"That may be; our society prescribes no laws. Each member, voluntarily united in the system of our faith, thinks and judges of the things of this world according to the light he has; our brethren are not the less the partisans of liberty."

"I am much of your opinion, Mr. Mifflin. I should be sorry to see the Americans slaves. I am delighted that chance has thrown your two letters into my hands because this circumstance has shortened your captivity, and has procured me the pleasure of becoming acquainted with a man as worthy as you are. This is the opinion of even your enemies."

"I did not believe I had any."

"It is the lot of all men," said the General, "why should you wish to be exempt? Adieu, Mr. Mifflin, I have given orders that you be suffered to pass; I wish you a prosperous journey."

"Farewell, friend Howe, thou mayest be assured I will do my best." The same day he left the city of Philadelphia, respected by the guards, who were astonished at the attention they were compelled to pay to a man wearing a broad-brim hat, and a gray coat without buttons,—without powder on his hair, and with shoes fastened with strings.

After quitting the English lines, he went to see General Washington at his camp at Valley Forge. He communicated to him the object of his visit, and gave him an account of his trip to Philadelphia. He was received by his illustrious countryman with open arms, and was feasted and caressed by all who surrounded him. Everybody was eager to do justice to so good a design and so humane a project. Although Congress did not consider a suspension of arms expedient, yet Warner Mifflin and the churches who sent him were not the less commended. He returned home, enjoying the esteem of both Generals, and happy in having done all in his power to accomplish the undertaking confided to him.

* We presume a wrong idea is here conveyed. The simple thing of keeping the *head covered* is not a conscientious matter, but if in removing the covering you pay homage or acknowledge superiority to any individual, you violate a rule of the Society founded upon conscience. They only appear with the head uncovered in supplication to the Supreme Being.

ADDRESS BY ROBERT OWEN, ON LEAVING THE UNITED STATES FOR EUROPE, JUNE 1, 1845.

AMERICANS: After an absence of fifteen years, I have again spent nine months in your States, and nearly four months of that period in the city of Washington, during the last session of Congress. I have seen in my travels through New England and the middle States, and presume the same has occurred in the South and West, a great increase to your cities—to your population, and in the extended cultivation of the soil. I have also ascertained that your means to increase wealth and power, for good or evil, are illimitable for many hundreds or thousands of years, and you could now beneficially absorb into your Union the present population of Europe.

You have also progressed in a most extraordinary manner in new discoveries in science, and in mechanical inventions, to render manual labor of diminished value, and to open the path to a new state of things, which will make labor of little or no commercial value, or unsaleable, for the rightful support of the industrious.

In proportion as your scientific power to create wealth has increased, individual competition has increased ignorant selfishness, vice, crime, and misery among the masses, so as to make all parties blind to their present position of high capabilities, and to their interests as individuals and members of society.

You statesmen are occupied in unprofitable and nationally injurious politics.

Your politicians in petty local party contests, useless for the attainment of great results.

Your capitalists and extensive merchants are overwhelmed in speculations, hazardous to themselves, and of little comparative benefit to their country or to the world. There is no foresight, wisdom, or order—no permanent, prosperous future in any of their proceedings.

Your traders, wholesale and retail, are wasting, most injuriously, much of the capital, talent, and industry of your country, and at the same time keeping the mind and morals of the Union upon a low level, most disadvantageous to every class.

Your most industrious classes are kept unnecessarily in toil, ignorance, and consequent degradation.

Senseless superstitions pervade the land without a particle of real charity being created between any of the classes, sects, or parties, possessing any one of these monster obstacles to human progress, for any who have been made to differ from them; and religion is perverted to wordly purposes.

Your prisons and punishments increase, and the necessity for more, while the present state of things continues, will daily become stronger.

You have already, to a great extent, throughout the Union, ignorance, poverty, division, and misery. And yet, as the *causes* of these evils have been discovered, they may be now easily removed.

For you are in secure possession of a most magnificent country; of a territory, even now, more than sufficient to amply supply the population of the world; more than sufficient to ensure high comfort and elevation of mind and feeling for all.

You have all the materials to effect these results in illimitable masses, and surplus power to obtain and apply them.

There is nothing in your position deficient but the knowledge how, peaceably and beneficially for all, to apply the means to accomplish these glorious results.

How important is it, then, that this knowledge should be attained in the shortest time, in order that the incalculable evils which necessarily arise from ignorance, poverty, division, crime and misery, should be made to terminate.

But how can this change be speedily effected?

It is now ascertained that *public opinion* governs the world.

This change then may be effected by speedily creating a new public opinion in its favor.

But how is this new public opinion to be created? The answer is obvious.

All great improvements commence with one or a few, and these, by judicious measures, interest more and more, until a sufficient number unite to accomplish the object.

There is an admirable spirit abroad anxiously looking out for the right commencement of this change, and bold truths announced in the pure spirit of charity will now accomplish that object.

Let then the proper measures to create this public opinion be now adopted, and let all good men of every class, sect, party, and state, unite for this God-like purpose.

To this end let a Convention be called of delegates from every State and territory in the Union, to consider what practical measures can be immediately carried into execution to apply the enormous means to secure prosperity for all the people of these States, that they may become an example to the world of what, with sound judgment, in peace, with order and with the least injury and the most benefit to every one, from the highest to the lowest, may be done.

But what is every one's business is no one's in particular, and is too often neglected by all. I, therefore, feeling a deep interest in the immediate improvement of our race, recommend such Convention to be called the "World's Convention," to consider what measures of a practical character can be adopted to ensure the immediate benefit of every class, without violence, contest, or competition, and especially what can be done to well educate and employ the uneducated and unemployed, to fit them for the superior state of society, to create which, for all the means are now so superabundant, not only in these States, but wherever men need to live; or it may be called "The World's Convention" to emancipate the human race from ignorance, poverty, division, sin, and misery.

The chief business of my life has been so far, to prepare all classes, from the highest to the lowest, for this great change in the condition of humanity in this world, and thus, in the best manner to prepare it for all future changes, whatever they may be, after we shall have done all in our power to ensure knowledge, goodness, and happiness in our present mode of existence.

I live but to put into activity the means to accomplish this change for my suffering fellow-men; and to see in progress the necessary measures to effect this object, I leave your country on the first of June for Europe, intending to return here about the middle of September.

Being of no class, or sect, or party in any country, but a sincere friend to all, and being most desirous to abolish all party distinctions, I recommend that the "World's Convention," previously mentioned, be held in the city of New-York, to commence on the first day of October next, and to continue until the great and good work of establishing equal and just rights among men, and insuring the progressive improvement and happiness of all, shall be well understood.

It will be found, on full investigation, that there is but one interest among all of the human race, and that is, that each one should be the best taught from birth, and best employed through life, and that the inferior circumstances of man's creation should be replaced from around all by those only of a superior and permanent character, whether animate or inanimate, for as these are, so will man become.

These measures have no individual interest or object in view; it is, therefore, earnestly requested, for the good of humanity, that the press will advocate the call and object of this Convention, and prepare the minds of the public for the great and glorious results which may, by these measures, be speedily obtained for all of every class in every country.

ROBERT OWEN.

NEW-YORK, 24th May, 1845.

THE RECONCILIATION.—A PROPHECY BY PUNCH.

Believe us, it is not true that wealth must be only another name for wickedness. It is not true that virtue must inevitably be found with rags. Money may be the root of evil, and yet he who cultivates the said root may be as clean a husbandman as any digger on this side Eden. Human brutishness may be hung about with tatters—as human truth and sweetness may be found under richest purple and finest linen. Want and hunger no more deify the starving, than do three courses denaturalize the well-fed. All the household virtues do not, of necessity, hover about an empty cupboard, any more than do the imps of Satan nestle in the butler's pantry.

There are faults on both sides; otherwise, what a lop-sided world this would be!

Wealth and Poverty call one another hard names; and then reward themselves with an abundance of self-complacency. The rich man is an ogre, living upon the hearts of the poor; grinding them under his golden heel, like worms; penning them up like unthoughtful cattle in unions; for game and poor-law offences, locking them in jails; harrying them here and there; in any and every manner grinding their bones to make his fine white bread. And Wealth, with this report of wickedness upon it, is a monster—a new Dragon of Wantley—a hydra with a hundred heads, some bare, some coronetted. And so is Wealth abused, and pelted with hard names. To be sure, the missiles break like bubbles against its golden plates. Words are but air,—and Wealth, rattling its ignots, may laugh at the vocabulary of Want, be it ever so uncleanly.

And then Wealth has its say, too. Poverty is an ungrateful dog; a mere animal—an engine made for the express use of him who can purchase it. An ungracious, foul-tongued, coarse, disorderly wretch; a creature in no way tuned with the same moral harmony, ennobled by the same impulses, that animate the man with the pocket. Down with Poverty! Crush it! Imprison it—brand it! The offal and the weed of the earth; the blight of the world, and the nuisance of the rich.

And after this fashion do Wealth and Poverty traduce one another. After this fashion do they—in the very hastiness of ignorance—commit a mutual wrong. After this fashion set up a false standard of mutual excellence.

"What!" says Wealth, "do I not fulfil my ordained purpose? Do I not profess myself Christian? Do I not go to church, and enact all the 'inevitable decencies' of life? Do I not pay the poor-rates—Easter dues—and all that? I envy no man his worldly goods. I am content with my own. I fairly, nay honorably fulfil the station awarded me, and what care I—what should I care—for the rest? I know my duties, and I do them."

And Poverty, in its sense of suffering, hugs itself that in the next world it will go hard with DIVES and lays up for itself, in its own complacency, the reward of LAZARUS; confounding in its wretchedness, its wants for excellences.

Surely there will come a time when the Rich and the Poor will fairly meet, and have a great human talk upon the matter: will hold a parliament of the heart, and pass acts that no after selfishness and wrong—on either side—shall repeal! The Rich will come—not with cricket-balls or quoits in their hands—to make brotherhood with the Poor; but touched with the deep conviction that in this world the lowest created man has a solemn part to play, directed to solemn ends; that he is to be considered and cared for, in his condition, with tenderness, with fraternal benevolence; that there is something more than alms due from the high to the low; that human sympathy can speak otherwise than by the voice of money; and that, too, in at once a loftier and a sweeter tone of hope and comforting.

The time will come when Poverty will be relieved from its serfdom. We have emancipated the slave to the color of his skin. We have next to emancipate the slave to Poverty: to take from him the stain and blot, the blight and the disgrace of pauperism; to cure him of the leprosy he takes from want alone; to divest him of the collar and the chain, which human pride and prejudice have, for centuries past, beheld about the neck of the Poor. When Poverty shall be declared no longer infamous—no, not declared; *that*, with pharisee-lip, we declare now—but thought, believed, made a creed of, then may Poverty expect its higher rights. At present, Poverty has an ignominious, a felonious character; and honest, yet withal worldly men, give good steerage-room to the foul disgrace.

Then will it be pleasant to see—whoever shall see it—the reconciliation of the Rich and the Poor. When all old selfishness, old prejudices, old feuds—on both sides—shall be buried and forgotten; when the Rich shall have cast away the arrogance of wealth, their pride, their wicked and irreligious sense of exclusiveness—and the Poor shall have quenched all heart burnings, all thoughts of revengeful wrong,—then will it be a glorious sight (no bravery like it) to see man reconciled to man; and knowing that, whilst human life endures, there must still be human inequalities—still to know there shall be a wise, a sympathizing, and an enduring reconciliation.

BRITISH IMPRESSMENT OF AMERICANS.

One of the complaints made by our fathers against England, was her practise of impressing not only our seamen, but even our landsmen, for her ships of war. This barbarous practice is almost inseparable from the custom in its full vigor; but, from the following anecdote of times antecedent and preparatory to our conflict with England, we can easily conceive how *we* should feel under this part of the war system:

"In the year 1747, there was quite a tumult in Boston, growing out of an attempt to impress some citizens. A number of seamen had deserted from ships of war at anchor in Nantasket roads, under the command of Commodore Knowles. A few days afterwards, on the 17th of November, the Commodore sent his boats up to town early in the morning, and impressed not only as many seamen as could be found on board any of the merchant ships, outward bound, as well as others at the wharves, but swept the wharves and the streets, taking among them ship carpenters, journeymen, and apprentices, stevedores, and laboring landsmen.

"The citizens of all classes furiously resented this outrage. A formidable mob, armed with clubs and missiles, assembled near Long Wharf, and repaired to the Governor's house, where a number of the officers were assembled, and demanded redress. The Governor in vain tried to pacify them; but they refused to disperse, and seized and held in endurance all the naval officers, without regard to rank, upon whom they could lay their hands, thinking that this would be the most effectual mode of procuring the release of the citizens who had been impressed. Commodore Knowles, however, refused all terms of accommodation, while his officers were kept in confinement, and threatened to bring up his ships and *bombard the town!* The confusion which reigned in the city, may easily be imagined. At length, at the intercession of the Governor, and some of the members of the General Court, which was then in session, the officers were liberated, when the Commodore most reluctantly and ungraciously set on shore the citizens who had been seized by the ruthless press-gang. He soon afterwards made sail, and left the harbor, to the great joy of the inhabitants; but he owed the Bostonians a grudge to the hour of his death!"—*E. Burritt.*

Associated Agency.

Central Office, 20 Wall Street, (basement,) New-York.

THE attention of persons who are desirous of improving their condition in life, is respectfully invited to the following great bargains now offered in this office.

864 acres of land with improvements, in Lyonsdale, Lewis Co. N. Y. 40 miles north of Utica, with half of the imminense water-power of High Falls, on Black River a large and never-failing stream, with sixty feet fall, with a saw-mill in operation. The whole, or a part will be sold. Price for the whole only $12,000.

A farm of 750 acres of the best quality of land in Frederick Co. Virginia, 40 miles from Washington City, in a high state of cultivation, with superior buildings, including stock and farming utensils, for $25,000.

3,000 acres of valuable land in Luzerne Co. Pennsylvania, with improvements, water-power, &c. for $37,500.

A large portion of the Town of Mount Carmel, Wabash Co. Illinois, with extensive tracts of land in the vicinity, including two villages, with Houses, Lots, Ferries Coal-Banks, and an abundance of water-power. Water communication by way of the lakes to New-York, and by the Mississippi to New Orleans.

A part of the town of Toolesborough, Louisa Co. Iowa, on the River Mississippi, with several thousand acres of land adjoining.

8,660 acres of first-rate rolling land in Lincoln Co. Missouri, on the Mississippi, 1,000 acres Prarie, the balance timbered land. Price $5,000.

20,000 acres of excellent farming land, very favorably situated in Hampshire Co. Virginia, at $2 an acre.

40,000 acres of choice selected land in Michigan, at $1 an acre.

2,500 acres of land in West Tennessee, Perry Co. will be sold, a great bargain.

60,000 acres, in Fentriss Co. Tennessee, in tracts varying from 1,000 to 5,000 acres each, of good farming land with Iron, Coal, Saltpetre, Epsom Salts, Copperas, and water-power.

214,000 acres in Washington, Green, Cock, Sevier and Blount counties, Tennessee, at 25 cents an acre. On these lands are Iron, Bituminous Coal, Fine Clay for Pottery, Feldspar, Quartz, Lime, Alum, and an inexhaustible supply of water-power.

Several of the above tracts of land are peculiarly adapted to the settlement of industrial Associations.

Also, for sale in this office, a great variety of Farms, Mills, Houses, Town-Lots, &c. in the different Counties of the States of New-York and New Jersey, and in all the Western States and Territories, at the lowest market prices, and with warranted title.

Having 26 Branch offices in the West, 9 in New England, and 4 in Europe, our Associated Agency offers the greatest facilities to persons wishing to buy, sell, or exchange Real Estate. All such are invited to command our services.

A principal object of the Association is, to put in practical operation a plan, by which persons wishing to purchase Real Estate of any description; may, with the least possible delay, trouble, or expense, be informed where they can find property for sale, adapted to their circumstances and wants; and by which the seller and the buyer may be brought together, to make such transactions as may be mutually beneficial.

We have already a rich Register of property for sale, to which we invite the attention of those who wish to purchase Real Estate of any description, or in any par of the country.

We also conduct an Agency for non-resident proprietors of Western Lands.

Agency for *procuring* and for *selling* Patents in the United States and in Europe.

Agency for receiving orders for Arnold's *Superior* Scythe Sharpening Rifles, Price in New-York, $6 a groce.

Agency for effecting insurance against fire in all parts of the Union.

Agency for sale of the Recipe for the genuine Berlin Hams, superior to Westphalias.

Agency for procuring Loans on Bond and Mortgage.

BUFFUM & Co.
Basement Office, 20 Wall Street
November 28, 1844.—tf.

Graham House, New Arrangement.

ROSWELL GOSS informs his friends and the public, that he has enlarged his Boarding Establishment, known as the

GRAHAM HOUSE, 63 BARCLAY STREET,

by adding to it the adjoining house, and is prepared to accommodate transient or permanent Boarders on the most favorable terms. All friends of Temperance desiring a quiet home, and freedom from the fumes of Alcohol and Tobacco, are invited to patronize this house. The vegetable system will be strictly adhered to, but a table will be served for those who prefer a mixed diet. Croton shower and warm baths free.

October 17. ROSWELL GOSS.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent*. Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

Education and Industry!

THE Northampton Association of Education and Industry have appropriated a suitable tenement for the accommodation of 15 or 20 boarding pupils. There will be members of a family, under the care of the Director of Education, assisted by his wife, and other teachers, and will be subject to the same treatment and regulations as pupils who are members of the association. The name of the association indicates the idea of culture, towards the realization of which our efforts will be directed. Systematic, habitual industry is deemed indispensable to education, which should aim at the harmonious development of the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious tendencies in active, practical life.

We shall consider $100 a year as an equivalent for instruction and board; from which a suitable deduction will be made when a pupil comes for several years. The year will commence on the 1st of May, next, and will have no fixed and entire vacation. Pupils will be received for a year at any time.

O. MACK, *Director of Education.*
BROUGHTON MEADOWS,
Northampton, April 14, 1844.

FREE CALICOES!

JUST received, 1 case fine calicoes. Also, 2 cases fine shirting muslins; together with a large assortmen of other free dry goods, at reduced prices, wholesale and retail. CHARLES WISE,
Northwest corner Arch and Fifth streets.
Philadelphia, 8th, mo. 17th 1842. tf.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE.
No. 31, North Fifth street.

The National Anti-Slavery